ERIC PROJECT REPORT

ROLE OF ACCULTURATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF VALUES AMONG CHILDREN : MATERNAL VIEWS

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CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

This research examines the changes in value preferences across parents of two generations in the context of rapid and profound political, economic, social and ideological changes taking place in the Indian society. In particular, it focusses on analysing the changing place of child in Indian families, the structure of values today's parents want their children to adopt, the methods used to inculcate these cherished values and identifying gaps in the structure of values across generations. In other words, the study explores the desirable human qualities and goals today's parents value most and would like to see them as possessed by their children. This chapter presents an overview of the theory and research in the area of human values. This will provide a perspective on the issues investigated in the present study.

Human Values in the Changing Social Order

In recent years it is being increasingly felt that the traditional Indian culture has undergone considerable transformation under the impact of western education, urbanization and industrialization, which constitute the broad process of modernization. The scholars in the fields of culture, language, literature, media and art have recognized these changes in their diverse manifestations. In general, there is a widespread feeling that the basic value system regulating the social life has changed or is changing. In particular, present orientation, emphasis on personal growth as opposed to societal development, non-committal attitude, inconsistency in behaviour across situations, increase in violence, corruption, indiscipline and social tension, etc., have become parts of the contemporary reality experienced in the everyday life of the people As a result unstability, unpredictability and ambiguity have become the major features of life. This is perceived more sharply when we contrast the present situation

with the traditionally established system of values. All this leads one to think that either the values have changed or they have lost their significance for behaviour. Whatever may be the case, the existing social scenario questions the relevance and functionality of the traditional value system.

The Concept of Value

In everyday speech the word "value" is used in several different contexts, e.g., "moral values", "aesthetic values", etc , and with various shades of meaning. They, however, do make a reference to some standard of worth (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1967). Zavalloni (1980) considers values as "orientations toward what is considered desirable or preferable by social actors As such they express some relationship between environmental pressures and human desires" *(p. 74)*. The Oxford English Dictionary, suggests that 'value is worth, utility, desirability and qualities on which these depend'. Although the word 'worth' is of Anglo-Saxon or Germanic origin (e.g., 'wert' in German) and value is of Latin origin (e.g., 'Valere' in Latin and 'Valeur' in French), yet 'worth' can be regarded as an equivalent of value (Gupta, 1978). Utility and desirability do imply some philosophical significance in as much as the former suggests the economic origin of the concept of value and later points to a psychological definition of a word. Value has been defined variously as utility, pleasure, interest, and intrinsic good.

Values are derived from many sources and have been variously defined as the unconscious cannons of choice (Benedict , 1934), cultural themes (Opler, 1954), the unconscious system of meanings (Sapir, 1949), a world view (Redfield, 1953) and the

central core of meaning (Kluckhohn, 1956). The social sciences dealing with values view them in terms of preferences and aversions, as generalized and relatively enduring beliefs concerning what is desirable or undesirable. They are standards that guide and determine behaviour on a long-term basis toward certain goals in preference to others (e.g., Feather, 1980; Rokeach, 1973). The humanistic disciplines, on the other hand, define them as functioning imperatives or 'ought'.

Values are also viewed as socially approved goals and desires that are internalized through the process of conditioning, learning or socialization and become subjective preferences, standards and aspirations (Kluckhohn, 1951). They are classified as physical, mental, emotional, economic, aesthetic, moral, religious, cultural and spiritual. Eight different domains of values have been identified which can be mapped according to whether they serve individualistic or collectivist orientations (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). Individualistic orientations are served by the domain of enjoyment, achievement, self direction and presumably social power. In contrast, collectivist interests are served by conformity and prosocial domains.

The development of values thus can not be considered to be a mere reproductive process. It is a creative process as well. The contemporaneous elements in the culture make demands for adjustment and adaptation on the part of social actors. The interplay of traditional elements and current events often take the shape of new pattern of values The contemporary social scenario in India amply demonstrates such a repatterning along with its contradictions, tensions and refinements. In fact, the

changes happening at macro level of society also get reflected in the development at the individual level.

The anthropologists speak of the whole way of a life of people --- the body of techniques, behaviours, and ideas transmitted from one generation to another --- as culture. Cultures constantly change. A culture may change, on the one hand, as a result of innovations from within, that is through discoveries and inventions On the other hand, a culture may change as a result of influences from without, that is, through contact of its bearers with persons of a different culture Acculturation includes those processes of change which result from contact conditions (Berry, 1990).

India has a rich cultural tradition characterized by its plurality and multiplicity of forms and types. Even since Vedic times a clear role prescriptions have been laid down for different groups of people suited to various occasions Later, the Indian culture was influenced by other alien cultures. The country remained a British colony for about two centuries. The influence of colonization has been felt in India in diverse ways. At one level its economy became shaped by, and dependent upon, the needs of colonial powers. As Menon (1980) notes.

> "The encouragement of cash crops such as sugar, jute, indigo, and cotton in place of food met the needs of European industries for raw materials, but it left the populations of the colonies even more vulnerable. The consequences were grim: during the 200 years that the British were in India, the country suffered the worst series of famines in its millennial history" *(p. 9)*.

It can easily be seen that the influence of colonial powers, however, extends beyond the economic sphere. The British influenced the Indian culture by influencing the culture of Indian elites Carter (1974) has noted the important roles the elites have had in shaping the Indian culture by their dress, diction and deport. As Moghaddam (1993) has argued, these elites have a tendency to be Westernized and to enjoy life styles that are more similar to those of middle and upper -class Westerners than to the traditional sectors of their own society. At the same time, being more Westernized and having a Western education legitimates the dominant position of the elites in the society

A Westernized cultural system has evolved in the modern India supported by the modern industrial sector and Western social sciences. The modern industrial sector was developed mainly in response to the needs of the developed world. Likewise, the western social sciences that have been imported to India reflect the needs, intellectual or otherwise, of developed rather than Indian society. However, traditional Indian cultural systems survive in the traditional India, supported by the traditional industries and the social and psychological knowledge provided by traditional religions and philosophies. India has a long cultural tradition which has been passed on from one generation to the next and has been imposed upon each of us without our conscious ascent. This, however, shows both continuity and change. In Indian society the collectivity had a traditional, agrarian ethos which provided continuity. The subsequent encounter with the western ethos generated discontinuities in the living process (Garg and Parikh, 1995)

Commenting on the Indian identity, Garg and Parikh (1995) observe·

> "Indian culture can be seen as a living process assimilating various strands of thought and lifestyle which it encounters. The process has created a rich collage of India exemplifying 'unity in diversity and diversity in unity'. However, the historical encounter with Western technology and industrialization, together with its ethos, has been drastically different in nature and intensity than any earlier encounters. When Indian society was confronted with the Western ethos, assimilation and harmony were not the outcome of the encounter. The individual and the system became fragmented into a logical, rational and cognitive domain of thought and action, on the one hand and an emotional, psychological, and relational domain on the other. The individual's thoughts and feelings about the situation could not converge so as to help him make a clear choice of action" *(p. 14-15)*.

The traditional and modern cultural systems seem to be in a state of competition in so far as they seek to extend or maintain the influence of each. Researchers have used the terms modernization, westernization and industrialization to refer to the general movement toward the extension of modern cultural systems This movement, of course, has been spearheaded by the western educated elites The revolutionary spread of mass-media, particularly the television, even in remote parts of the country has strengthened this movement As a result, majority of the Indian population seems to be under the direct influence of the western culture.

It may be pertinent here to draw an outline of the changes in the Indian society from an insider's perspective. The outline presented below is based upon the work of Garg and Parikh (1995) Traditionally, India has been perceived as a source of fulfilment -- sensuous, spiritual or material. It has a strong and rigid ritualistic religion with a fixed world view Primarily an agrarian society, its social design emphasized self sufficiency, containment and operational autonomy for each village The ideologies of non-interference, non-aggression and stasis were emphasized. The economic structure of the country was designed on the basic principle of distribution of resources, not distribution of income The social design was congruent with the economic design, based on the principle of distributive authority to each village unit Such a social design recognized continuity of psycho-social relatedness such as nesting of financial roles (occupation and education) in the social structure of caste. A person was free to express his being in a specified space and through rituals Festivals, as part of the social infrastructure, were another mode of expressing residual frustrations. A religio-philosophic ethos, centred around self-realization as the main purpose, allowed the individual to surrender the role without feelings of guilt or fear of punishment

The contemporary Indian society, in contrast, has rather been denied an exposure to the religio-philosophic ethos, an awareness of the social design, and an understanding of the heritage of the past Influenced by the technological ethos of USA and Europe, the parents and the educational institutions emphasize acquisition of techno-informative knowledge of high grades. As a consequence of the technological development mobility - both physical and social - has brought into sharper focus the rural - urban, agrian - industrial, the haves - have nots, and the literate - illiterate

divides. In this way the structure of authority of Indian agrarian society has been disturbed. An individual in the formal work system could exercise authority over those who were his superiors in caste and age In the agrarian society successive generations followed the occupation as well as the goal sets of the family or the caste at large. However, the technological developments introduced new professions, and consequently new goal sets emerged. The technological development also led to the emergence of voluntary relations which, at times, competed with the primary kinship for emotional investment. The modern formal work organizations generated peer groups and collegiate systems. This was in contrast to the work design of the agrarian society where individuals in isolation could complete the entire work due to simplicity and sequentiality of the technology.

The effect of westernization, however, is not equally distributed across different sectors of the Indian society. The younger group and elites seem to be more affected than rest of the population In a country where about 64% population (as per 1991 Census) is under 29 years of age (under 15 years = 36.0%, 15-29 years = 27.7%) the situation becomes alarming. Berry and Kim (1988) have noted that an exposure to western culture may result into one of the four types of changes in the individual's behaviour, i.e., assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. In *assimilation*, relinquishing cultural identity and moving into the larger society is the option taken. *Integration*, in contrast, implies maintenance of cultural integrity as well as movement to become an integral part of a larger societal framework. *Separation* refers to self-imposed withdrawal from the larger society When imposed by the larger society, however it becomes one of the classical forms of segregation Finally,

marginalization is having lost the essential features of one's culture, but not having replaced them by entering the larger society There are often feelings of alienation, marginality, and a loss of identity The present study examines the type of mode adopted by Indians with specific reference to the development of values

Overview of Theory and Research

(a) Theoretical Perspectives

The theories on value acquisition have focussed on the affective, cognitive and behavioural components of values The psycho-analytic theory emphasizes the affective aspect of morality. Freud (1960) referred superego as the moral component of personality Ekstein (1964) incorporated many of the psycho-social ideas of Erikson as they apply to the child's acquisition of a value system.

The cognitive-developmental theory focusses on cognitive aspects of value acquisition. Piaget (1932) delineated a shift from egocentric or hetronomous morality to autonomous morality. Kohlberg (1981) developed a stage theory and argued that moral development progresses through invariant series of irreversible stages These stages are. Pre-conventional, conventional, and post-conventional. Each stage was further divided into two substages, and thereby making a total of six stages Punishment and obedience orientation, instrumental relativist orientation, interpersonal concordance orientation, orientation toward authority, social-contract orientation, and universal-ethical principle orientation A seventh stage emphasizing the sense of being a part of the whole of life and adopting a cosmic perspective has been mooted.

Recently a type perspective on moral reasoning has been proposed (Schrader, Tappan, Kohlberg, & Armon, 1987). Recent research evidence, however, suggests that Kohlbergian approach has certain boundary conditions (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Kagan, 1987; Logan, Snarey & Schrader, 1990, Ma, 1988; Radke - Yarrow, Zahn - Waxler & Chapman, 1984; Snarey, 1985).

The social learning theory (Bandura & Mc Donald, 1963) suggests that cultural norms, including beliefs about what is right or wrong, are internalized at a very early age and forms the basis of one's moral system The child acquires these values from parents through modeling and imitation. Thereafter these are gradually internalized in early childhood, probably between the age of 5 to 8 years. Reinforcement determines which of the moral behaviours and values will be internalized On the basis of social learning theory the researchers have, however, found it difficult to explain how early in a child's life are values acquired ? Early investigators (e.g., Murphy & Murphy, 1931) doubted whether young children had the necessary conceptual skills needed for the internalization of societal values. The studies dealing with age trends in the expression of values suggest that values gradually become more stable with age (Mckinney, 1975; Thompson, 1946).

(b) Values in the Cross-Cultural Context

Since the study of values is concerned with the effect of society on the individual, it has attracted a good deal of cross-cultural research. Since the 1950's a number of surveys of values in different cultures have been undertaken As a result there exist a number of measures used in cross-cultural work. Some of these measures

are· Allport, Vernon and Lindzey (1960) Scale of Values, Kikuchi and Gordon (1966) Survey of Personal Values; Triandis (1972) Antecedent - Consequent Method; and Rokeach (1973) Value Survey, though each has certain limitations (Furnham, 1984).

In majority of the studies the Rokeach Value Survey has been used to examine cross-cultural differences in values This value survey is a two-part questionnaire which requires a subject to rank order according to personal preference two sets of 18 values The first part is concerned with *terminal* values, or values considered to be concerned with "end-states of existence", while the second is a list of *instrumental* values that are supposedly concerned with "modes of conduct". The Rokeach Value Survey, or its adaptations, have been administered to students of various cultures: Africa (Furnham, 1984), America (Domino & Hannah, 1987; Feather, 1979; Rokeach, 1973), Australia (Feather, 1970, 1980), Canada (Rokeach, 1973); China (Domino & Hannah, 1987; Feather, 1986, Katz, Juni, Shope, & Jang, 1993, Lau, 1988), Israel (Rim, 1970; Sohlberg, 1986) and so on. The results of these studies suggest a contrast in the value orientations of Western and Eastern societies. The Euro-American culture and much of the Western Europe emphasize on the individualistic, personal or independent orientation, what Mundy-Castle (1968,1974) refers to as technological intelligence. In contrast, in Africa, Asia, Latin America and native American societies the major focus is on collective, social and interdependent orientation. The person is viewed more as "situation-centred" and, therefore, inclined to be socially and psychologically dependent on others. The personal sacrifice is prized above individuality (Hsu, 1972; Lord, 1990, Misra & Gergen, 1993; Nsamenang, 1995).

The studies on value differences in South Africa have shown that African students put a great deal of emphasis on political values and also on the goal of helping their own community, while the Europeans are much more individualistic stressing private satisfactions such as desired success in their career, family life and personal qualities (Danziger, 1958). Mann (1972) found three race-linked value differences between Black and White students, with Blacks inclining more strongly towards community service above privatism, public welfare before religious scruples, and full democracy in all the circumstances. Ellis (1978) observed that, according to the African world view, "man is not man on his own; the individual gains significance from and through his relationships with others" *(p. 6)*. The nature of the self is interdependent more than independent (Kitayama & Markus, 1992; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Recently, Nsamenang and Lamb (1993) reported that among the Nso of Northwest Cameroon, though traditional values were widely endorsed, mothers, parents and urban respondents tended to manifest less indigenous viewpoints than fathers, grandparents, and rural subjects, perhaps because of their greater exposure to alien modifiers of cultural knowledge and values.

In the Chinese culture the expression of individual needs and desires is considered selfish and youngsters are socialized to accept the authority (family), social obligation and conformity to the rules of good conduct (Chen & Yong, 1986; Harrison, Serafica, & McAdoo, 1982; Yang, 1988) and are more emotionally unstable (Pashal & Kuo, 1973). The Chinese and Western youth seem to emphasize somewhat different values. Whereas Chinese school age youth place a high value on collective welfare and social concern (Bond, 1988, Chinese Culture Connection, 1987; Yang,

1986), American and Australian youth place relatively high value on autonomy and tend to devalue conformity to authority and social convention (Feather, 1980; Feldman & Rosenthal, 1991, Rokeach, 1973, Rosenthal, Bell, Demetrion, & Efklides, 1989). Domino and Hannah (1987) analysed stories generated by Chinese and American children The Chinese stories evinced greater social orientation, greater concern with authority and with moral-ethical rectitude, and greater saliency of the role of natural forces and chance, and contained more affective elements, fewer instances of physical aggression, and less economic orientation. The Chinese notion of humanity is closely related to the norms of loyalty *(chung)* and reciprocity *(shu)* (Chao, 1994). According to Confucian ideals, the code for social interaction in mixed ties is that of harmony. one has to do one's best to see that harmony is maintained (Hwang, 1988, 1994) . Studies have attempted to relate the group or collective orientation of Chinese children to their socialization practices (Bremer, 1980; Chu, 1979; Hsu, 1970; Sidel, 1972; Wilson, 1980)

In the traditional Japanese family the mother plays a dominant role in facilitating her child's development (Candill & Weinstein, 1969; Smith & Schooler, 1978) Honig (1978) observes that traditional Japanese mothers, relative to U.S. mothers, attach greater importance to self-help skills, such as neatness, cleanliness, and personal care. For the Japanese mother, motherhood is a lifelong role embedded in her husband's patrilineal (corporate structure), where she is responsible for bringing up a cooperative and respectful child who is also highly achievement oriented (Shand, 1985) The Japanese child-rearing values are basically social, rather than individually oriented (Doi, 1973, Iwasaki Mass, 1984, Kornadt, 1987)

In Puerto Rico, dignity comes to the individual through protecting and providing for one's family, being honourable and being respectable in one's behaviour toward others (Lucca-Irizarry, 1981). In contrast, 'achievement' and 'self-reliance' are valued in the United States (Hsu, 1972). In another study, Quirk, Ciottone, Minami, Wapner, Yamamoto, Ishii, Lucca-Irizarry and Pacheco (1986) noted that Japanese mothers emphasize more on self components of personal discipline and loyalty and self-other component of affiliation with others; the Puerto Rico mothers focus on maintaining one's dignity (self) and responsibility toward others (self-other relations); and the U.S Mainland mothers on individualism which includes autonomy (self) and competition (self-other relations)

The influence of Confucianism is deeply rooted in the social values and culture of the Asian Newly Industrializing Countries (NIC), including Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, and Japan. The management styles and work attitudes of the employees based on Confucian social values and social structure are held responsible for the upliftment of these countries. The hardworking behaviour of people inhabiting these countries is due to the sense of competition resulting from survival under the pressure of high human density and lack of resources (Kim, 1988). There is evidence that the countries where people have not responded to the demand of density and resources have remained backward economically, such as Bangladesh. Thus Begum (1988) has noted that people of Bangladesh show fatalism and religiosity coupled with a less favourable attitude towards scientific outlook and women.

Enriquez (1988) lists the Filipino national values as follows: shame, yielding to the leader or the majority, gratitude, sensitivity to personal affront, and togetherness in common effort. Komin (1994) identified the following Thai values that do not appear on the American value lists: Terminal values - brotherhood spirit , social relations, and status and wealth; Instrumental values -- grateful, caring and considerate, responsive to situations and opportunities, calm and cautious, contended and interdependence.

Since McClelland's (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, & Lowell, 1953) seminal work on achievement motivation, concepts like altruism, affiliation, dependency, autonomy, competitiveness, and self-reliance have been related to defferring levels of achievement The prevalence of achievement behaviours in different cultures has also been linked to meanings and beliefs related to the concept (Fyans, Salili, Maehr, & Desai, 1983), as well as to affective values (Cole & Bruner, 1974). The studies suggest that Francophones give importance to security, prestige and interpersonal aspects of the organization, whereas Anglophones value recognition, promotional opportunities, autonomy and fair salary (Jain, Normand & Kanungo, 1979; Kanungo, Gorn, & Danderis, 1976, McCarrey, Edwards & Jones, 1978; Nightingale & Toulouse, 1977) and Anglophones showed stronger achievement motivation (Breton, 1972; Kanungo & Bhatnagar 1978; Yackley & Lambert, 1971)

Childrearing values verbalized by French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) revealed that FC parents allowed guest priviledges, responded to requests for help, and tolerated insolence more readily than EC parents. EC parents encouraged antonomy to a greater extent (Lambert, Yackley & Hein, 1971). In another study

(Lambert, Hamers & Frasure - Smith, 1979), comparisons of working-class Italian immigrant parents (IC) with both working-class and middle class FCs and ECs showed diversified patterns of distinctiveness and similarity. The ICs stood apart on willingness to help the child, reluctance to grant autonomy, and harsh reprimands of insolence. Although they held values similar to the middle class Roman Catholic FCs, the newcomers had reactions akin to those of native-born Canadians of both social classes. Their attitudes suggested awareness of the demand for adaption to both FC and EC lifestyles, while preserving strong in-group identification.

The individual autonomy and independence constitute the cornerstone of the psychology of personality -- the model of man in the western world. The related concepts of self-reliance and self-sufficiency, privacy, individual achievement, and freedom are stressed For example, Kagan (1984) states that "in American families, the primary loyalty is to self -- its values, autonomy, pleasure, virtue and actualization", and Spence (1985) notes, "At least since the time of Alexis de Tocqueville, observers have recognized that individualism is central to the American character". Individual autonomy is a cherished value and it is well integrated into both theory and application: the latter is seen, for example, in parent education programmes where mothers are taught "let go" of their young children. Thus individualist independence is a part of the Western (and especially American) value system.

Recent studies have, however, voiced quite different views (e.g., Fu, Hinkle & Hanna, 1986). Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swindler, and Tipton (1985) note ambivalence or a conflict between preferred ideology and observed behaviour. A great

deal of interdependence actually exists among generations, kin, and families (Bronfenbrenner & Weiss, 1983; Fu, Hinkle, & Hanna, 1986). The interdependence is particularly strong in women and among low-income families, mainly because women are more socialized for interdependence (Chodorow, 1978) and are more in charge of homemaking, and because low-income families often lack other sources of support

The studies indicate that ethnicity and social class constitute two major ecological structures that affect child-rearing practices and the transmission of values (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1986; Havighurst, 1976). In the domain of parental values, particularly the importance parents attach to particular qualities in their children, effects have been consistently reported for class despite the use of varied means of defining and measuring class (Hess, 1970). Middle-class parents have been reported to stress "developmental" values --- for example, eagerness to learn, sharing, and cooperation (Duvall, 1946), ambition (Inkeles, 1960), independence and achievement motivation (Rosen, 1959,1961). In contrast, working-class parents have been found to be concerned with more "traditional" values --- for example, neatness, obedience, and respect for adults (Bronfenbrenner, 1958, Clausen, 1966; Duvall, 1946; Inkeles, 1960; Rosen, 1961) -- although there is evidence of decreasing emphasis on obedience and a growing preference for autonomy since 1958 (Alwin, 1984). Effects have also been reported for ethnicity (e.g ,Cashmore & Goodnow, 1986; Mead & Wolfenstein, 1955; Pearlin & Kohn, 1971; Whiting, 1963)

The Value of Child

Apart from studying what is valued in a society, attempts have also been made to examine why people want to have children: the perceived advantages and disadvantages in having children. A group of researchers (Bulatao, 1979; Darroch, Meyer & Singarimbun, 1981, Fawcett, 1983; Hoffman, 1987; Kagitcibasi, 1982 a, 1982 b, c) conducted the nine-country Value of Children Study in Indonesia, the Federal Republic of Germany, Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, and the United States The study focussed on motivations for child bearing and values parents attributed to children. The two main value types identified were psychological and economic. The economic value included children's material contribution to the family when they are young and when they grow up, especially as a source of old age security to their parents However, American and German responses were in contrast to those from other countries. They found the questions regarding help expected from offspring in old age rather offensive and denied being dependent on anyone, particularly their children. Within country variations parallel to cross-cultural ones in terms of socio-economic development A pattern of lower fertility, lower son preference, lower expectations of material contributions from children with socio-economic development was observed. In terms of family interactions (the psychological value), the main finding was decreased intergenerational dependency with economic development. These trends, however, refer to material interdependencies. Other researchers indicate that psychological family interdependencies can continue to be strong even in the absence of material interdependencies (Duben, 1982, Erelcin, 1988; Olson, 1982; Yang, 1988) It has been observed that to Southern European (Australia, Greek, Italy) parents having

children completes the marriage and establishes their family within the communities of families (Callan, 1980).

Child rearing values also reflect family relations and the changes in them. In the Value of Children Study expectations of obedience (dependence) versus independence and self-reliance showed a systematic variance somewhat parallel to old-age security These were the two most desired and second most desired characteristics in children related to the level of general development in opposite directions. The newly industrialized countries like Korea and Singapore stressed on independence. The countries like Indonesia and the Philippines, and to a lesser extent Turkey and Thailand, emphasised on expectations of dependence from children, this dependence to be reversed later on with the dependence of elderly parents on their grown-up offspring -- a pattern of family interdependence through generations (Kagitcibasi, 1988) The economic value of children has also been linked to the number of children parents have.

The above review points out to the fact that almost every society has developed a well-structured pattern of values needed for its survival in a particular eco-cultural context. For example, in traditional societies, where survival demands a sort of cooperation among individuals, interdependence and group loyalty are the cherished goals of socialization In contrast, the technologically advanced societies emphasize more on individuality, autonomy, and achievement Further, international migration, major refugee upheavals, decolonization, tourism, and telecommunications have increased intercultural contact As a result, traditional societies are undergoing

through a process of modernization, urbanization and industrialization, and subsequently a shift in their cherished values and goals, from traditional value patterns to more like that of technologically advanced societies.

(c) The Development of Values: A Cultural Perspective

Socialization of values actually involves emergence of a person's inner world in ways that are adequate to the interpersonal encounters and to the larger social and cultural order in which he or she participates Thus a child learns about her culture and identity through a variety of socializing agencies. Hoffman and Lippit (1960) identified three sets of influences on value development --- family sub-culture, social class, and occupation. In addition, the relationship between parents also plays an important role in this process. A host of factors such as child-rearing goals, conceptions regarding 'parenting' and 'child' shape the transmission of values in significant ways Reflecting on the socialization of values in the Indian context,Tandon (1981) has drawn attention to the following factors family sub-culture, family relationship, social class, family rituals and customs, religion, education and mass-media, and individualism-collectivism Jain and Singh (In Press) have presented a detailed description of these factors.

In the scientific literature attempts have been made to identify basic Indian values and behaviour depositions (refer D Sinha, 1988). Taking examples from Weber (1958), in a recent review D. Sinha (1988) has observed that "Hinduism was considered lacking the essence of Protestant ethic -- something that was the crux of economic development in the west" *(p 33)* Analysing themes in films and proverbs,

Narain (1957) described basic Indian values as mild, passive, dependent, other - worldly and non-materialistic. Sovani (1963) has asserted that the case of present malaise in India lie deeper in the Hindu culture and personality which have shown 'deadening efficiency' in maintaining the *status quo*. Kapp (1963) contends that the basic religious values of Hinduism, namely *sanyas* (renunciation), *maya* (illusion), and *karma* (action), and the social institutions of the joint family and the caste system are the main barriers to economic development Pande and Naidu (1986) assert that non-attachment to the fruit or consequences of action may be conducive to lessening of strain and stress, but at the same time promote a lack of interest in the formulation of a proper plan of action and ultimately lead to an attitude of indifference.

J.B.P. Sinha and D. Sinha (1994) have identified the following values reflecting some core concerns and preferences of Indians. These are: hierarchical perspective, the power play, preference for personalized relationship, social networking through own-other dichotomy, and collectivistic orientation. Chakraborty (1991) has suggested the following values salient to Indian socio-cultural ethos: Respect for individuals, cooperation and trust, purification of mind, top quality product and services, work is worship, containment of greed, ethical-moral boundaries, self-discipline and restraint, need to give, and renunciation and detachment. To measure organizational and personal values, Prakash (1982) factor analyzed 31 proverbs capturing attitude to work, interpersonal relations, authority and power, reward and punishment, philosophy of life and human values. The following eleven factors emerged· humanism, outcome orientation, materialistic orientation, power orientation, work orientation, compliance, work commitment, self-interest, *dharma*, uncertainity avoidance and detachment.

In a study on moral education of primary school children, Kapur (1986) analyzed the school; socialization functions like marriage, birth, death and festivals; children and their homes using participant observation and Piagetian type clinical interviews. Results indicated that obedience, precedence to elders, Hindu religious values relating to *Karma* and the redemption of sins, sexual division of labour, and sibling loyalty were the themes of normative interpretation.

The results of a series of studies (D Sinha & Varma, 1972; Varma & D. Sinha, 1972; Varma, 1976, 1982) reveal that the knowledge of moral values and ability to make moral judgements increase with age between 6 and 12 years. The moral knowledge of young children is more concrete in nature in the beginning and gradually becomes abstract as they grow older Employing Kohlbergian approach, Saraswathi, Saxena and Sundarsen (1977) found with increasing age an upward trend in the usage of higher moral stages. The higher social class, nuclear family, small family size, higher education, occupation and income were associated with mature judgement. Saraswathi, Kakkar, and Kaur (1979) found that power assertion was negatively related to moral maturity scores in upper middle class girls. Parikh (1980) studied children, adolescents and adults (12 to 50 years) from upper middle class Jain and Hindu families. The moral stage ranged between stages 2 and 3 though the range included 2 to 5 stages. Vasudev (1981, 1983) included a larger sample of children and adults (11 to 50 + years) from Hindu, Jain and Sikh upper middle class families. The moral stages increased with age and the fourth moral stage was the moral stage of 50 + years participants. G.Misra and A. Mishra (1988) found that with age and years of formal schooling, the children tend to show more mature judgements. Shweder, Mahapatra and Miller (1990) analyzed the form and content of morality in 5-13 years

aged children, and adults, male and female from Brahman and Untouchable families in the orthodox temple town of Bhubaneswar. They found a portrait of the development of the understanding of obligations that differs from Kohlberg's. The researchers emphasized on the ways a culture's ideology and worldview have a bearing on the onto- genesis of moral understanding in the child.

G. Misra and his associates (1991) have examined different aspects of moral behaviour. It was found that older children of 10-11 years age display higher level of judgement than the younger children of 8-9 and 6-7 years. Boys had a more mature judgement of moral values than girls The high SES children showed more mature moral judgement at the young and middle age levels than their low SES counterparts (Tripathi & G.Misra, 1979) G Misra and Mathur (1985) found adolescents to be more generous followed by adults and children. G. Misra and A.C. Mishra (1989) examined the pattern of distributive justice in Indian children. Results showed that reward allocation was done at a higher level of judgement by girls than boys. Also, the gender difference was greater at the younger age. The educational level of parents has been found to be related to the development of moral concepts in children (Kothari, 1984).

Researchers have also investigated the development of cooperative-competitive behaviour in Indian children Banerjee and Pareek (1974) studied the developmental trend of cooperative and competitive behaviour of children in three sub-cultural groups, Hindus, Bohra and tribals in Delhi and Udaipur using Maximizing Difference game. They found cooperation to be negatively related with age Boys tended to be more competitive than girls (Pareek, 1977). Carment (1974) found Indian students

(from Delhi University) to be more competitive than Canadians. Druckman, Benton, Ali and Bager (1976) observed that Indian subjects were more competitive than American or Argentinean subjects. Srivastava (1986) noted that Indian subjects were competitive under full information condition than partial information condition. Children studying in English medium schools showed greater competitiveness and used cut-throat competition strategy more frequently than rural/urban government school children (Srivastava & Lalnunmawii, 1989). Girija and Bhadra (1986) found that backward and scheduled caste groups show more preference for group orientation.

Studies have examined the value patterns of farmers in relation to commercialization of farms (Budilal, Sethee Rao, Manjunath, & Nidagundi, 1987; Shah & Patel, 1977; Singh, 1966). Traditional values were found to be negatively related with the degree of commercialization of farms. Nair (1961), after interviewing farmers and poor peasantry, has reported a lack of desire and aspiration to raise their living standards. Similar results have been obtained by Sinha (1969) who compared farmers from highly developed and extremely developed village on several measures of motivation.

Examining the value pattern of students, Krishnamurthy (1987) observed that persuability had positive correlation with modernity and negative with value orientation. The values such as independent, cheerful, and intellectual were highly rated by female subjects (Firdous & Hussain, 1989). Male students emphasize theoretical and practical values more while women students stress more on the aesthetic values (Anantharaman, 1980). The male and female students of rural background differ significantly in social values, whereas urban male and female

students differ in religious and knowledge categories (Singh, 1992). However, Singh and Singh (1983) did not find sex differences in a sample of Post-graduate students. Graduate males were significantly high on power motive (Saxena & Singh, 1982). The effect of SES was seen in theoretical, aesthetic and religious values of rural boys (Adhikari, 1986). The students studying in high SES schools were more theoretical and less economic in their value orientation than their low SES counterparts (Kalia & Mathur, 1985)

Attempts have been made to compare the value patterns of servicemen and non-servicemen Significant differences were noted in the values preferred by army servicemen and civilians (Kuttappa, 1962). The non-technical employees scored higher on theoretical values while technical employees were high on economic and political values (Pratap & Srivastava, 1982) The candidates who opt for Air Force as a career attached greater importance to special abilities and aptitudes, adventure, creativity, and originality (Gupta & Banerjee, 1986). A significant positive correlation was found between work values and the level of performance of individual employees (Vora, 1983).

The studies related to value pattern of teachers show that values such as theoretical and economic values discriminate between effective and non-effective teachers (Bohra, 1984) Rural student teachers express stronger religious values than the urban student teachers (Gupta & Kapoor, 1983). The scores on aesthetic, theoretical and religious values of male student teachers were greater than female student teachers (Gupta, 1984)

Dev (1978) has examined inter and intra-generational conflict in values. He found mother group to be more servative, more fatalistic, and less progressive, than the younger generation of both sexes. The younger generation was more progressive - minded than those of older generation. Dixit and Sharma (1981) found differences in aesthetic values between mothers and daughters, and in economic values between fathers and sons.

Many of the values discussed above vary as a function of population density and mode of community relationships in rural/urban areas. The results reflect that both the groups (i.e., rural with low population density, and urban with high population density) show higher preference to self-control and obedience, and low preference to cleanliness and independence (Bhushan & Ahuja, 1977).

The effectiveness of some yogic variables to change the value - attitude system has been examined. It was found that meditation was effective as a method of training in bringing a change from a closed mind to an open mind, in reducing tension level, and in increasing emotional maturity (Kolsawalla, 1978).

Value of Children

In both traditional and contemporary Indian views, children (especially sons) are seen as the only way to continue the family lineage (Krishnan, in Press). Also, children are seen by parents as a source of old-age security (Mamdani, 1972, Mathew, 1977), as a way of enhancing the parents' sense of power, status and personal pleasure (Singh, Bhargava & Kumar, 1981), or as potential earning members (Mamdani, 1972; Weiner, 1990). Parents desire for a male child which is due to the religious motives as

well as psychological and economic factors (Stork, 1980) Reddy and Mahadevan (1986) observed that an overwhelming majority considers male children necessary for old age security (89%), performing death rituals (82%), management of family (79%), and maintaining the family lineage (75%). The female children are associated with household work (86%), enjoyment to parents (76%), giving respect to elders (70%), and old age security (72%) It is, however, heartening to see that with time more parents are beginning to treat their sons and daughters as truly equal in terms of rights and opportunities, even if they differentiate on aspects such as discipline (Krishnan, in Press).

The preceding review indicates that the attempts made by Indian researchers have been sporadic and limited to a particular geographic area, class or caste. The results of these studies are also, to some extent, contradictory. Also, attempts have been made to relate values with the social address variables (e g., rural/urban, SES) or personal attributes (e g., age, sex, student, teacher). Though such studies are important, identification of value patterning in the Indian context is yet to be accomplished Further, majority of these studies have concentrated on identifying the value patterns of children, adolescents and adults What types of values parents desire their children to develop has so far not been examined. This is important for the reason that one may like their children to develop altogether different patterns of values depending upon one's experiences Also, the indigenous perspective on values and its felt relevance in today's context need to be carefully examined

The Indian concept of value and the manner in which values of life should be ordered to forge a unity of purpose is rather unique The conceptualization is

undoubtedly spiritualistic in so far as it allows a marked precedence of spiritual values over material and hedonistic values. At the same time it also provides a comprehensive perspective in which an entire spectrum of values ranging from socio-economic and hedonistic to moral, religious and spiritual has been revealed. The following section presents the highlights of this indigenous perspective on value

The Indian Perspective

To have an understanding of the Indian concept of values, an insight into the concept of four aims of life *(Catuspurusartha)* is essential (R.C. Tripathi, 1988). They consist of *artha* (politico-economic values), *Kama* (hedonistic values), *dharma* (moral values), and *moksha* (religio-spiritual values) The traditional triumvirate of values *(trivarga)* refers to the three-fold aim of human life consisting of *dharma*, *artha* and *kama* which are considered to be mundane and empirical It presupposes *moksha* as the fourth and transcendental ideal of human life. The spiritual consideration for *moksha* not only dominates the philosophical and psychological activity in India, but also prepares a ground for a conception of the absolute value in the form of the absolute reality *(Brahman)* at the hands of the *Vedantins*. Thus the five concepts of *dharma*, *artha*, *kama*, *moksha*, and *Brahman* form the bases of the Indian concept of values.

The uniqueness of the Indian concept of values lies in the fact that the material and mental values have been integrated with moral and spiritual values of life. Each value has been accorded its perspective place in a system in which scale of values had been visualized and a transaction from the non-spiritual to the spiritual values is sought to be established. *Artha*, which is purely economic and biological, forms the

ontological basis of all other values, and *kama* which means pleasure of sexual and artistic pursuits, adds to life its qualitative richness and thus is graded higher than *artha*. *Dharma*, which refers to moral values, must constitute the regulative norms for both *artha* and *kama*, it is, therefore, considered higher than both. *Moksha* as the spiritual fulfilment of men comes at the top of all other values, and the *Brahman* as a value is not different from *Moksha*. Thus *artha*, *kama*, *dharma*, and *moksha* or *brahman* together form an hierarchical system which has been the comprehensive aim of human life and to single out any one of them and consider it alone as the ideal of man will not be in consonance with the true spirit of the Indian concept of values.

Social Representation of Values : Images in Ancient Indian Thought

Every society contains a number of different representations of salient issues which constitute a part of the 'objective' world for different persons and groups in that society. Such representations are not only taken for granted constituents of 'objective reality', but become subjectively appropriated in the process of socialization. This takes place through the social practices by which culture is transmitted from one generation to another Much of psychological theory is predicted upon everyday psychological realities, which are objectified in language as shared symbolic convention (Semin, 1987). Thus, social representations are seen as a set of concepts, statements and explanations originating in daily life in the course of communication.

To know the social representation of values in ancient Indian thought, it becomes imperative for one to analyze the ancient texts and folk tradition since they contain prescriptions for what to do and what not to do taking examples from real life. In Indian scholarly tradition,these prescriptions have been presented in the form of

Suktis or *subhasitas* (good words) After analysing 178 Sanskrit texts, Shastry (1985) in his *'Sanskrit Sukti Ratnakar'* has collected 2710 *suktis* on 545 topics/themes. It is to be noted that these *suktis* are more than mere being *slokas* or good words. They may be small but are believed to be more serious, miraculous, close to ultimate reality and reflect the long experiences of foresighted saints. As a small lamp lightens the entire house, these *suktis*, many of which are only one or two steps of a *sloka*, reveal the secret of living and non-living world They are guidelines for human being (Srivastava, Tripathi & Misra, 1995) Shastry's list includes a number of concepts/themes related to different values. These are: *Artha, Dharma, Kama, Karma,' Satya, Ahimsa,* character, love and affection, honesty, zealousness, confidence and courage, happiness, and their antonyms In general, the life of a human being deprived of effort, pleasure, conduct, knowledge, spouses and fame has been fied upon. This section contains a brief description of these values as represented in various *suktis.*

The importance of *artha* (wealth) in the Indian mind is evident from the fact that the degree of *Purusattva* in a human being is judged by the amount of his wealth; he is a slave of *artha* A wealthy person can achieve everything --- *dharma, kama,* friends, brothers, the heavenly world and so on Without *artha* even the last rites of an individual can not be performed. However, wealth earned following the path of *dharma* is only considered good It is believed that *artha* can only be achieved by one's own *karma* or *purushartha.* Use of *artha* for one's welfare and donating it to the needy ones are the two uses of *artha*

The doctrine of *karma* (action) occupies a unique significance in the mind of Indian people. It has been considered more as an explanation for human lives Four

aspects of *karma* are particularly important. First, it is based on the law of causation or determinism. Second, some aspect of karma can be reserved for fructification *(sancita_karma,* collected *karma)* Third, the aspect of *karma* which fructifies and brings about a plethora of satisfaction is known as *Prarabhadha Karma.* Fourth, every *karma*, every action we perform creates a potency for something that is to happen in future *(Sancayamana Karma.* being collected *Karma).*

Karma, particularly *nishkama karma* (desireless action) has been greatly emphasized in the Indian tradition. 'As you sow you reap and so you become' is a popular saying Doing something is thought to be better than doing nothing; *akarma* (non-action) is thought to be the biggest sin *Karma* is one's teacher, God and friend It is the medium through which individuals are able to express their intelligence. Industrious persons never face the problem of earning a livelihood. In contrast, non-action puts individuals in all sorts of troubles. Practice makes one skilled and competent and continuous effort makes goals accessible.

Dharma is considered to be the foundation of human world. Worship, study, and helping the needy ones are three pillars of *dharma.* Truth, non-violence, justice, love, good conduct, sacrifice, politeness, honesty, altruism, and respect to elders are its different forms. *Dharma* refers to the ability to distinguish between truth and non-truth It leads to progress, victory, and self-confidence. *Dharma* has been given the status of mother, father, brother and friend However, the criteria of *dharma* changes according to time and place

The motivating force behind all human actions is probably the *Kama*, in the absence of which no activity is clearly visible. *Kama* is thought to be the gist of *artha*

and *dharma* and is accordingly given higher status. However, it is the *dharma* which defines the boundaries of the *kama* which knows no limit. Love and affection are included in *Kama*. The character of an individual is defined by striking a balance between *artha*, *dharma* and *kama*

In addition to the above values, a group of activities has been considered desirable in the Hindu society These are non-violence, truth, honesty, benevolence, and hardwork. Non-violence is believed to be the greatest *dharma* which brings happiness, prosperity and longevity in one's life. The violence is the force of evil minded persons. Similarly, the underlying philosophy of Hindu society has been that 'truth always wins'. Maintaining silence is considered to be better than telling lie. Though speaking truth is thought to be best, however, one should always speak that truth which is beneficial for the society. Honesty is another highly valued human trait. Honest persons, particularly with regard to *artha*, are rare and can only they achieve *moksha*

The Hindus consider the following goals desirable and thus attempt to inculcate them in their children kindness, justice, courageousness, generosity, helpfulness, politeness, cleverness, and broad-mindedness The behaviours such as cowardishness, excessiveness, egoism and quarrelness are considered to be undesirable.

In sum, it can be said that Hindu philosophy has a well-structured system of values directed towards the welfare of individuals and society. The present analysis is, however, limited to the scholarly tradition An analysis of the folk wisdom and vernacular may meaningfully substantiate these observations.

The Present Study

It has been argued that under the impact of Westernization, industrialization and urbanization, the Indian socio-cultural realities are undergoing through a process of rapid transformation At a global level, the salient changes that have taken place during the recent past in India related to the changes in the value system may be summarized as following

1. **Demographic characteristics** migration from the traditional rural communities to industrial urban centres due to rural unemployment, increase in the cost of agricultural productions, and strengthening of rural inequalities;.
2. **Economic activity** reduction in the proportion of persons engaged in occupations traditionally associated with their castes or families, and increase in the proportion engaged in manufacturing, trade and salary-based occupations;
3. **Political and legal affairs**, change in the value-based politics (at one time the philosophy of *nishkam karma*, desireless action, has been the central principle guiding moral and social conduct) to self-centred and opportunistic orientation;
4. **Educational system**· realisation of the irrelevance of the education system set up by the British, aimlessness of education, setting up of the new education policy, and change in the social roles of women and other weaker sections of the society.
5. **Means of mass-communication**. increase in the communication net-work, reaching the media in the remote and distant areas, improvement in the road and rail communication, and
6. **Family**· The salient changes in the Indian family are: (a) nucleation, or the transition from extended-kin to a primary-kin system; (b) from a continuity

between the world of the adult and that of the child to the segregation of the child from adults for the reasons, such as increased pressure on survival systems and dominance of school and school-related work, particularly in the middle class, resulting in individuation and a sense of insecurity in children, (c) a change from indulgent to strict child rearing, (d) inconsistencies in child rearing; (e) the absence of clear-cut role models, (f) changes in the status, role and employment of women; and (g) the impact of migration (Sinha, 1988).

A look at the changes in the Indian system from the point of view of McClelland's (1961) achievement orientation, these reflect the symptoms of modernization and social change However, as Kumar (1993) points out, "To view the 'middle' class parent's due anxiety about the child's daily school work, examination results, admission to a college, and ultimately unemployment and marriage, purely as expressions of economic insecurity is to miss the point that none of these behaviours match the classic symptoms of modernization, such as respect for the child's autonomy and judgement" (p 72) There is a conflict between the socialization of the child by contradictory forces. One type of forces (such as the school, the media and the consumer products) emphasize differentiation of the child, his autonomy, and his specialized status as a consumer The second force from the parents and older adults exercising influence from within the immediate or the larger family command that the child should accept parental wisdom and elders' right to shape the child's personality, career and family life (Kumar, 1993)

Thus, Indian youth today is a child of two cultures: Indian and Western. Young people are internalising contradictory and conflicting world views, lifestyles and modes of relationships with others Caught between an agrarian, traditional ethos and the industrial, Western ethos the Indian identity has been fragmented (Garg & Parikh, 1976; 1980).

In recent years, reports of the various Commissions and Committees on Education, right from the Radhakrishnan Committee Report (1948-49), Kothari Commission Report (1964-66) onwards to the National Policy on Education (1986), the Ramamurti Committee Report (1990) and the C.A.B.E. Committee on Policy Report (1992) have emphasized the urgent need for Value Orientation of Education The Planning Commission's Five Years Plan Reports, especially in the chapters on education, have been urging the need for this important input in the Indian educational system. Obviously the teachers have been visualised to play a central role in this process. The question then raised is what values should teacher develop in children. Our ancient value system has, beyond doubt, guided the living of human being for a long time. But in a changed present day context, where the entire world is on the precipice of moral disaster, will it be appropriate to teach our children the ancient system of values Related to this is the question that what values parents teach to children. If the values taught by parents are contradictory to what is done in the school, it may prove to be an useless exercise No attempt, so far, has been made to examine the value preferences of parents which they want their child to develop and to what extent their (parental) value preferences are at variance with those of their parents (grand parents) This study makes an humble attempt in this direction.

Against this background, the present study attempted to understand the changes in values in Indian system empirically Specifically, an effort was made to understand what, how, and in which form changes in the Indian value system have taken place. To answer these questions, the study was concerned with the various aspects of value judgement in parents representing different generations. The study examined the differences in the value patterns of mothers, fathers and grandmothers hailing from diverse eco-cultural settings. It was expected that due to the process of acculturation the value preferences of mothers and fathers will be at variance with those of grandmothers. In Indian society fathers assume the task of performing outside the home activities and mothers are generally confined to the household activities, it was assumed that the impact of acculturation would be greater on the value preferences of fathers than the mothers

This study examined the prevailing system of values among mothers, fathers and grandmothers from rural, urban and metropolitan areas. The three residential settings were included to see how the degree of urban contact has or is influencing the value orientation. It was assumed that urban contact is a global phenomenon leading to changes in interaction pattern within and outside the institution of family. In particular, it leads to individualistic orientation and emphasis on instrumental goals and values. The value preferences of mothers and fathers were examined and related to the experience of modernisation on the one hand, and judgements about functional significance of values, on the other

It was assumed that the elites in the developing countries have a tendency to be Westernized and to enjoy lifestyles that are more similar to those of middle - and upper-class Westerners than to the traditional sectors of their own society (Moghaddam, 1993) The study thus aimed at contrasting the value preferences of elites from different eco-cultural settings with those of non-elites

The sex-gender system plays a very significant role in regulating social behaviour in traditional societies like India. In particular, sex-role identity and child-rearing practices in India are shaped diversely in the case of boys and girls (e.g., Bhalerao, 1985; Bhogle, 1991, Kakkal, 1991, Saraswathi & Dutta, 1990). It, therefore, seemed pertinent to examine how value preferences of mothers and fathers vary for boys and girls.

Objectives of the Study:

The main objectives of the study included the following:

a) To examine the perceived value and cost of children to their parents;

b) To analyse the parental view on desirable human qualities which they themselves prefer and would like their children to adopt;

c) To study the modalities through which parents cultivate desirable human qualities in their children and difficulties experienced.

d) To obtain parents' views about the functional relevance of ancient Indian values in view of changing eco-cultural and social context and their attempts to cultivate those in children;

e) To analyse the gender differences in the value system;

f) To compare the differences in the value system of parents belonging to different eco-social settings (urban contact, and class groups);

g) To compare the value of young mothers (and fathers) with those of elderly mothers,

Strategy of the Study

This section presents the operationalization of variables under study as described below

The study was conducted to document the changes in value preferences in the context of rapid and profound social, economic and political changes in the country To map these changes, following Berry (1990), eight aspects of acculturation were examined. These included education, wage employment, urbanization, mass-media, political participation, religion, language and daily routine

The value preferences were examined by asking questions on the following aspects of value development perceived value and cost of children, gender preference, expectations from children desirable and undesirable characteristics, training methodologies, relevance of ancient Indian values, criteria for desirable and undesirable behaviour, locus of perceived responsibility, extent of compromise and agreement among the family members

The study examined the value preferences of parents belonging to two different generations. To this end mothers, fathers and grandmothers of children below 10 years of age were included in the study. To investigate the gender differences in their value preferences, care was taken to ensure that half of the parents have a girl child.

The ecological settings included in the study were New Delhi (Metropolitan), Allahabad (Urban), and remote villages of Allahabad (rural). Also, the parents varied in terms of their economic status The criteria for deciding parents' economic status (low/high) differed across the ecological settings

Instead of adopting a structured quantitative approach of data collection, a semi-structured qualitative approach (interview method) was adopted in the study to suit the requirements of different types of people varying in educational experience. It also helped us in getting the views as experienced by the people (an insider's perspective) rather than imposing categories by the investigators

CHAPTER 2 : METHOD

Participants

A sample of 360 parents (120 mothers, 120 fathers, 120 grandmothers of children below 10 years of age) from three types of residential background (rural / urban / metropolitan) and two economic groups (low/high) participated in the study Care was taken to ensure that half of the participants have a boy child. Attempts were also made to recruit mother, father and grandmother of the same child. However, in urban and metropolitan centres, the desired number of grandmothers of the same child were not available. In such cases, grandmothers having a grandchild of less than 10 years of age from the same background were included in the study Data were collected from New Delhi (metropolitan centre), Allahabad city (urban centre) and villages of Allahabad (rural centre). The criterion for classifying parents into low and high economic groups differed due to residential background In the urban and metropolitan areas families with reported monthly income of Rs. 2,000/- and less were categorized as low income group and Rs 4,500/- and above as high income group In the rural area the average monthly income of low economic group was Rs. 700/- and less, and high income group was Rs 1500/- or more

The Settings

The descriptive characteristics of the three settings, viz., rural, urban and metropolitan, are enumerated below.

Metropolitan Centre (New Delhi):

Forming an enclave inside the eastern frontier of Haryana in northern India, Delhi is one of the four metropolitan cities and the capital city of the country. The city, with an area of 1483 sq km., houses about 94,00,000 people (as per 1991 census) The sex ratio is about 830 females per 1000 males. The literacy rate of 76 09% (males = 82.63%, females = 68 01%) is quite high, as against the national average of 52.11% (males = 63.86%, females = 39.42%) and is ranked sixth among all States and Union Territories of the country. The main spoken languages are Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu.

Founded in 11th Century A D., Delhi has been the centre of political activities in the country since long Presently the city is inhabited by people belonging to different States, religions, and cultures As such, the city does not have a culture of its own. Rather, it is a mix of several cultures It is said that Delhi has neither a culture nor an atmospheric climate of its own During summer the warm winds of Rajasthan compell people to go indoors while the cold winds of Himachal Pradesh keep people shivering during winter

Delhi has probably the distinction of having the largest number of public (elite) schools with a Central Board of Secondary Education, three major Central Universities and a large number of government and private institutions and offices. Majority of the population has migrated in the city in search of livelihood. There are three important railway stations wherefrom trains depart to different parts of the country, an inter-state bus terminal and an international airport. Distinguished as a highly polluted city, it has probably the maximum number of motor vehicles. Due to the distant location of the places a middle class Delhite has to travel 20-30 kms in buses run by the transport department. It is a centre of political activities too. The city publishes a number of leading newspapers and magazines in English, Hindu, Urdu and Punjabi. Other regional newspapers and magazines are also available. People have the option to enjoy and choose among different channels of television, dance, drama, etc. It thus can be said that in true sense Delhi is a metropolitan city

Urban Area (Allahabad city):

Situated at the confluence of Ganga, Yamuna and Saraswati (an invisible stream), Allahabad (earlier known as Prayag) has been one of the most sacred places of the Hindus in northern India since very early times The population of Allahabad district is about 49 lakhs with 877 females per 1000 males. The city of Allahabad houses about 8 lakh persons (1991 Census). The literacy rate of 33.03% (males = 47.30%, females = 18 49%) is below the national and state average (state total literacy

= 41.75%, males = 55.35, and females = 26 02). The main spoken language is Hindi; the dialect of the people being Avadhi which merges into Bagheli in South and South-West, and Bhojpuri in the east

The city of Allahabad has been the centre of political activities in northern India It has the honour of having given the first three Prime Ministers to the country. Allahabad city is considered the second capital of the State. It has a number of government offices, a leading University and several institutions and offices of the state government There are two railway stations, bus depots and a domestic airport. However, cycles and cycle rickshaws are convenient means of transportation for majority of the population The city publishes few newspapers in Hindi and English and is covered by the television network

It has been mentioned earlier that Allahabad city is a religious city. The *Kumbh mela*, which occurs after every 12 years, is a matter of great attraction when large number of people from different parts of the country take holy bath at the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna The *Ardha - Kumbh* is celebrated after every six years The annual Magh-mela also attracts a large number of pilgrims

Rural Area

Eight villages in Allahabad district, located at a distance of 20 to 46 kms. from the city were covered in the study These villages were connected with the city either with buses run by U.P. transport department, autorickshaws, or by railways. However, in majority of the cases one has to walk about one km. in order to reach the village from bus stand / railway station. The villages had a primary / or Junior high school, a temple, and few shops where items of daily usage were available. Some of the houses were thatched while some were made of concrete. Majority of the population was engaged in traditional caste based occupations. Many of the villages had the practice of weekly market wherefrom villagers could purchase things of their daily need. The cycles were the convenient mode of transportation

Demographic Profile of the Parents

Table 1 contains the details of the demographic characteristics. The mean age of the mothers was 30.58 (Range = 19-45) years, fathers 34.40 (Range = 24-50) years, and grandmothers 55 05 (Range = 40-88) The mean years of schooling for mothers was 7.76 (Range = 0-21) years, fathers 9 80 (Range = 0-20) years, and grandmothers 3 33 (Range = 0-17) years

Table 1

Demographic Details of the Participants

Residential Background	Rural		Urban		Metropolitan	
	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
Mother N	20	20	20	20	20	20
Mean Age	31.65 (25-45)	31 15 (20-45)	28 00 (19-35)	31.40 (22-37)	29.15 (22-38)	32 10 (27-41)
Mean Sch	0 55 (0-3)	3 85 (0-17)	5 55 (0-12)	15.50 (7-19)	5.25 (0-17)	15 85 (10-21)
Father N	20	20	20	20	20	20
Mean Age	33 15 (24-45)	34.10 (25-50)	31 55 (24-40)	35.85 (29-44)	35.00 (25-42)	36 75 (30-45)
Mean Sch	6.00 (0-10)	7.7 (0-17)	4 6 (0-14)	15.85 (12-19)	7.85 (0-14)	16.8 (14-20)
Grandmother N	20	20	20	20	20	20
Mean Age	51 95 (42-62)	59 10 (45-70)	56 20 (40-88)	59 35 (50-75)	51.20 (40-60)	52 50 (40-67)
Mean Sch	0 60 (0-6)	1 25 (0-5)	8 70 (1-5)	0.85 (0-6)	1.95 (0-10)	6 65 (0-17)

Note: Range of scores is shown in parenthesis
N = Number of Participants
Age = Mean age of Participants
Sch = Mean years of schooling

A large majority of the parents in the study were either Brahmin (34%) or Shudras (50%) by caste (Table 2) Of the Shudras, 82% belonged to the low economic

group. About 88% Brahmins were from high economic group. The Kshatriya and Vaishya constituted about 11 per cent of the sample About 4% of the respondents were non-Hindus The participants consisted of professionals (e g., doctors, engineers, teachers, lawyers) (15%), non-professionals (e g. clerks, business people, shopkeepers, mechanics, taxi-drivers, gardeners, washermen) (26%), and others (including occupations received from parental generation like agriculture, carpentry, etc.) (59%). A large majority of the parents (75%) came from joint families. However, 13% rural, 23% urban, and 42% metropolitan parents belonged to the nuclear family. Regarding duration of stay at the place of interview, 4% parents had been staying at the particular place for a year, 71% for two or more years, and 25% since birth. It may be noted that 42% rural, 26% urban, 9% metropolitan parents had been staying at the place of interview since birth

Table 2

Percent Distribution of Respondents by Caste, Occupation, Family Type and Duration of Stay at the Place.

	RURAL	URBAN	METRO
CASTE			
Brahmin	23	36	44
Kshatriya	0	6	8
Vaishya	1	7	12
Shudra	69	48	34
Non-Hindu	7	3	2
OCCUPATION			
Professional	3	18	24
Non-Professional	18	30	30
Others	79	52	46
TYPE OF FAMILY			
Nuclear	13	23	39
Joint/Extended	87	77	61
DURATION OF STAY AT THE PLACE			
One Year	0	4	4
Two or more years	58	69	87
Since birth	42	27	9

The rural parents were primarily Hindi speaking (Table 3). The mother tongue of 89% urban and 70% metropolitan parents was Hindi. The mother tongues of urban parents were varied Table 4 shows religious involvement of the parents. The parents showed different degree of religious involvement, such as sometimes offering prayers (39%), observing religious rituals (39%) and following religious code of conduct in life (23%).

Table 3

Mother Tongue of the Respondents (%)

MOTHER TONGUE	RURAL		URBAN		METROPOLITAN	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Hindi	100	100	83	95	75	65
Punjabi	-	-	8	3	-	8
Tamil	-	-	-	-	3	5
Bengali	-	-	8	3	8	15
Telugu	-	-	-	-	10	5
Oriya	-	-	-	-	3	-
Rajasthani	-	-	-	-	3	-
Sindhi	-	-	3	-	-	3

M = Mother, F = Father

Table 4

Religious Involvement of the Respondents (%)

CATEGORIES	RURAL		URBAN		METROPOLITAN		GRAND-MOTHER
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Not at all	-	8	-	5	3	10	11
Sometimes offer prayers	67	8	38	35	23	45	25
Regular prayers in the temple	-	-	10	5	5	5	5
Observance of religious rituals	30	73	42	33	43	15	51
Follows religious code of conduct in life	13	23	28	33	33	10	28

M = Mother, F = Father

Table 5 shows that metropolitan parents had maximum number of 4 children, urban parents 5, and rural parents had 6 children. Among the rural parents the majority of mothers and grandmothers belonging to low ES had 3 children, the high ES respondents had 2 children A large majority of urban and metropolitan mothers and grandmothers had either 1 or 2 children

Table 5

Percentage of Child Numbers by Residential Background, Parental Generation and Economic status.

NO. OF CHILDREN	RURAL				URBAN				METRO			
	M		GM		M		GM		M		GM	
	L	H	L	H	L	H	L	H	L	H	L	H
1	5	0	0	0	15	55	15	35	35	50	15	25
2	25	40	20	30	20	40	40	30	35	40	50	60
3	35	10	60	30	30	5	20	20	25	10	15	10
4	20	25	5	20	15	0	15	10	5	0	20	5
5	10	20	15	20	20	10	10	5	0	0	0	0
6	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

M = Mother, GM = Grandmother L = Low Economic status
H = High Economic status

Note: Since mother and father of the same child were included in the study, the number of children with one parent has been shown in this table.

Table 6

Occupation Related Information (in percentage)

CATEGORIES	RURAL		URBAN		METROPOLITAN		GRAND-MOTHER
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
MAJOR OCCUPATION							
Housewife	80	-	48	-	55	-	87
Domestic work	18	-	13	-	8	-	12
Agriculture	3	70	-	-	-	-	-
Business	3	23	18	40	13	27	4
Service	3	13	23	60	25	13	2

M = Mother, F = Father

The occupation related information are presented in Table 6 The rural mothers and fathers were primarily housewives and agriculturists, respectively About half of the urban mothers were housewives and the remaining half were engaged either as domestic help or in business and service. About 60% of the urban fathers were in government service and 40% in business Similar trend was observed for metropolitan parents Majority of the grandmothers were housewives. Some of the grandmothers were also engaged in the performance of domestic chores

Measures

The following interview schedules were developed and used in the study.

a) Demographic Characteristics:

It contained the following items of information, Age, caste, education, occupation, and monthly income of parents, child's age and number of children; type and number of family members, and religious involvement of parents.

b) Acculturation Index:

Following Berry (1990), the interview schedule consisted of 58 items related to the following dimensions of acculturation (see Appendix for interview schedules and details of the coding plans).

i) Education There were 8 items dealing with the educational status of parents and family members, desired education and occupation for children of both sexes, the importance of education, etc All these items, except one, were rated on 5-point scales The importance of education was rated on 8-point scale. The education index ranged from 8-43.

ii) Wage Employment: The schedules included 5 items dealing with the occupation of the parents (rated on a 6-point scale, 1-6), reasons for leaving the family occupation

(6-point scale, 0-5), preferred occupation for ladies (7-point scale, 0-6), freedom to daughter/daughter-in-law to choose occupation of their choice (4-point scale, 1-4), and the impact of present occupation on the family (6-point scale, 0-5) The scores ranged between 2-26.

iii) Urbanization: There were 9 items related to the duration of stay at the place, duration and place(s) where lived earlier, reasons for migrating from birth-place if applicable, frequency of visiting the urban centre (s), place of stay in the urban centre, mode of transportation, visiting the urban centre alone or with some other person, and purpose of visit

The information related to purpose of visiting the other city, mode of transport and places where stayed earlier were rated on 5-point scales (0-4) as well as duration of stay at the place at the time of interview, and frequency of visiting the other city (1-5). Items such as duration of stay at earlier places, reasons for migration from village to town, and places of stay in the other town were scored on 6-point scales (0-5). Lastly, the means of transportation were rated on 12-point scale (0-11) The scores ranged between 2-48.

iv) Mass Media The interview schedules contained 10 items related to mass-media. However, to begin with the parents were asked the following two questions · Do you listen radio/watch television (scored on 2-point scale) and their attitude toward radio/television (scored on 6-point scale, 0-5) Should the parents answer the first question in affirmation, questions like time spent, preferences for radio/television, preference for the type of programme, and their likely impact on respondent's daily life were asked These items were rated on 6-point scale (0-5). Also, questions related to the participants habit of reading the newspaper/magazines and the particular column of their interest were asked. The reading of newspaper and magazines were rated each on a 2-point scale Type of magazine and news were scored on 5- and 6- point scales, respectively The scores ranged between 1-4

v) Political Participation Parents' participation in political activities was assessed through 6 items. Their views on politics, the particular election of their preference, frequency and basis for casting vote were scored using 6-point scales (0-5). The respondent's association to a political/social organization (2 items) were scored using 3-point scale. Also, the number of times the respondent casted vote were noted. The scores ranged between 0-28

vi) Religion: The schedule contained 4 items dealing with parents' faith and extent to which he/she practiced religion, the likelihood of eating food offered by persons of other religion, and his/her preference for mixing with people of other religious groups The extent of practising religion was scored on 5-point scale (1-5). The remaining items were ranked on 2-point scale (1-2) The scores ranged between 4-11.

vii) Language. There were two items dealing with the parents mother tongue/other languages known and used for reading, writing, and speaking, and the language used for day-to-day conversation The language used for daily conversation was scored on a 4-point scale (1-4), and proficiency in other language on 7-point scale (0-6). The scores ranged between 0-10

viii) Daily practice The schedules contained 14 items examining the extent to which there is a change in dress, housing, food habits, social relationships and customs, division of labour etc Four items were scored on 2-point scales (1-2), 5 items on 3-point scales (0-2), one item on 3-point scale (1-3), 2 items on 4-point scales (1-4), and the remaining 2 items on 5-point scales (1-5) The scores ranged between 9-37

ix) Global Acculturation Index This was obtained by summating parents' scores on all the eight dimensions described above

The responses to the above questions were recorded by the investigators verbatim and later rated on different scales by the two investigators. Full agreement among the raters was ensured Based on these ratings different indices such as education, employment, urbanization, mass-media, political participation, religion, language, daily practice and global acculturation were computed. The data were further treated using suitable statistical analysis

c) **Value Development**

Three separate open-ended interview schedules, each consisting of 16 items for mothers, fathers and grandmothers, were developed. They dealt with the following aspects of values. Parents' responses were recorded verbatim.

Value and Cost of Children Parents were asked to indicate some of the advantages and disadvantages to them in having children as compared with not having them at all in their own words.

Gender Preference: Parents who valued children in terms of extending the family lineage were asked about their preferences for boys and girls and reasons thereof.

Expectations from Children Parents were asked to describe their expectations from children, what do they want them to be in life.

Desirable and Undesirable Characteristics. Parents were asked that considering the fact that your child will be a citizen of 21st century, what are the human qualities you would like to develop in your child Also, parents indicated the characteristics which they would not like their child to adopt

Training Method: The methods adopted by parents to inculcate/not inculcate a particular quality in children were examined The parents were asked to illustrate with the help of an example

Relevance of Ancient Indian Values: In the context of changing socio-cultural realities, parents were asked to indicate the extent to which they considered the ancient Indian values relevant. A list of values was read to them The list included values such as truth prevails, non-violence, honesty, benevolence, *nishkama karma* (desireless action), simple living and high thinking, respect for others and self, etc.

Classification of Behaviours into Desirable/Undesirable Categories: Parents were asked to indicate the criteria which they used as a basis for deciding their child's behaviour as desirable or undesirable.

Locus of Perceived Responsibility Who is to be blamed if the child despite all cautions develop undesirable characteristics, the schedule mentioned

Extent of Compromise: Parents were asked to describe the extent of compromise possible in case of conflicting value preferences shown by the child.

Agreement among the Family Members: Parents described the extent of agreement among the family members on the pattern of values a child should develop

Planning and Conduct of the Study

The thinking about this project began sometime in early 1992 which led to the development of a research proposal The proposal was submitted to the Educational Research and Innovations Committee (ERIC) of the National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi for financial assistance on 29 July, 1992 Based on

the suggestions received from ERIC, the proposal was revised and re-submitted on 25 April, 1993. The ERIC's approval was received on 21st January, 1994

The actual conduct of the project started from April 1994 and the academic activities received momentum with the joining of two Jr Project Fellows in May, 1994. Thereafter began the search for relevant literature, preparation of interview schedules, discussion of interview schedules with colleagues and their pilot testing on 15 mothers living in the slum areas of Delhi, modifying the schedules, and their printing.

At this point, to monitor the progress of ERIC sponsored projects, the PI was invited to present the details of the project with its progress at the Researchers' Seminar held on 23-27 September, 1994 at Mysore The following suggestions were made in the seminar

1. "Focus of study, 'A study of mothers' role in development of values among primary school children'.

2 Delete SC/Non-SC categorization of mothers

3. Concentrate on 'socialization' rather than 'acculturation'

4. A comparative perspective could be developed by taking a small sample of fathers/other male elders in the family

5 Two categories of mothers need to be seen in terms of mothers and grandmothers of primary school age children

In the light of above suggested changes, the proposal design may be revised "

Keeping the above suggestions in view, the design of the study was reformulated

The actual data collection started in the month of October, 1994 and continued till March, 1995. In the meantime the investigators visited Allahabad twice for a period of 25 days each. Data were collected from New Delhi (places like Ambedkar Nagar, Jhuggi slum behind IIT, Sarojini Nagar, Lajpat Nagar, Karol Bagh, Vikaspuri and Saket), Allahabad city and villages of Allahabad (from Phulpur, Karchana, Chail and Sirsa blocks)

Data were collected by two investigators individually in a semi-structured interview situation The respondents were approached at their homes at times convenient to them. After establishing proper rapport, interviews were conducted at isolated places free from other disturbances. An interview lasted for about an hour. At the end of the interview respondents were thanked for their cooperation.

The obtained data were coded by two investigators and there was 100% agreement among them with regard to the coding of data In case of disagreement, the opinion of the Principal Investigator was sought This followed analyzing data, preparation of relevant tables and figures Few additional analyses were done with regard to socialization for values Among mothers and fathers comparisons were made between young versus old parents. The mothers and fathers were divided into young and old categories on the basis of median of their ages (Median = 33 years) Finally, writing of the report took about four months

CHAPTER 3: THE EXPERIENCE OF ACCULTURATION

This chapter presents the findings regarding the pattern of acculturation experienced across different groups in relation to different variables

Residential Background

A comparison of the acculturation indices of rural, urban and metropolitan parents (Tables 7 and 8) showed that urban and metropolitan parents were more acculturated than rural parents on the following dimensions; education, wage employment, urbanization, exposure to mass media, language use, daily routine, and global acculturation index The rural parents showed higher participation in political activities than their urban and metropolitan counterparts. No differences were observed with regard to religious practices The urban and metropolitan parents were similar in the extent of acculturation on all dimensions.

Table 7

Mean Acculturation Scores and F Values by Residential Background.

INDICES	RURAL	URBAN	METRO	F (2,342)
Education	28 15 (11-40)	31 19 (10-42)	31 01 (11-42)	13 68**
Wage Employment	9 27 (3-18)	10 80 (4-21)	10 61 (4-21)	7.73**
Urbanization	18 74 (6-36)	28 02 (6-40)	28 93 (9-41)	184 43**
Mass-media	12 78 (1-29)	18 98 (2-33)	20 50 (1-34)	27 72**
Political Participation	17 91 (1-26)	15 82 (0-25)	15 13 (0-23)	23 27**
Religion	7 32 (4-11)	7 44 (4-11)	7 67 (4-11)	2 11
Language	2 41 (1-8)	4.41 (1-10)	4 44 (1-10)	51.28**
Daily routine	18 28 (13-28)	22 29 (15-33)	22.91 (16-32)	168 93**
Global Acculturation	114 81 (67-175)	137 68 (58-196)	140 03 (62-191)	47 74**

** P < .01

Note: Range of obtained scores is shown in parenthesis.

Table 8

Scheffe's Test of Multiple Comparisons for Acculturation Scores by Residential Background.

INDICES	R Vs U	F (1,342) R vs M	U vs M
Education	21 70**	19 17**	0.08
Wage Employment	13.02**	9.97*	0.20
Urbanization	249 59**	301.36**	2 43
Mass-media	31 96**	49 48**	1.90
Political Participation	24.35**	42 86**	2.59
Language	75 70**	78 25**	0.02
Daily routine	214 70**	285.84**	5 08
Global Acculturation	64.27**	78 16**	0 68

R = Rural, **U = Urban ,** **M = Metropolitan**

* P < .05
** P < .01

Parental Generation

The results (Tables 9 and 10) revealed that fathers were more acculturated on the dimensions of education and wage - employment than mothers and grandmothers. The grandmothers were relatively less urbanized and had lower exposure to mass-media than mothers and fathers. The grandmothers showed higher political participation than fathers, who in turn were more participating in political activities than mothers. Also, the grandmothers were more religious than mothers and fathers. On language, daily routine, and global acculturation scores, fathers were more acculturated than mothers, who, in turn, showed higher acculturation than grand mothers.

Table 9

Mean Acculturation Scores and F values by Parental Generation

INDICES	MOTHER	FATHER	GRAND MOTHER	
Education	29 34 (11-42)	31 69 (11-40)	29.32 (10-42)	8.70**
Wage Employment	9 78 (3-20)	12 71 (6-21)	8 19 (3-17)	58.19**
Urbanization	26 69 (7-40)	26 25 (6-39)	22 75 (6-40)	27 06**
Mass-media	19 21 (1-34)	19 09 (2-32)	13.95 (1-33)	14.93**
Political Participation	14 12 (1-24)	16 59 (4-26)	18.15 (1-26)	46 05**
Religion	7 13 (4-11)	7 48 (4-11)	7 83 (4-11)	7 83**
Language	3 96 (1-10)	4 65 (1-10)	2 65 (1-10)	39 04**
Daily routine	21 17 (13-33)	23 17 (16-33)	19 15 (14-31)	108 24**
Global Acculturation	130 98 (67-196)	141 19 (62-190)	120 35 (58-191)	26 91**

** $\underline{P} < .01$

Note: Range of obtained scores is shown in parenthesis.

Table 10

Scheffe's Test of Multiple Comparisons for Acculturation Scores by Parental Generation

INDICES	M vs F	F(1,342) M vs GM	F vs GM
Education	13 05*	0.00	13 24*
Wage Employment	47 39**	4 24	80.00**
Urbanization	0 57	45 07**	41 89**
Mass-media	0 01	22.93**	21 85**
Political Participation	34 09**	90 54**	13 51**
Religion	3 72	4 10	15 65**
Language	9 05*	32 39**	75 71**
Daily routine	53 45**	54 35**	215 59**
Global Acculturation	12 79*	13 89**	53 35**

M = Mother F = Father GM = Grandmother

*** P < .05**
**** P < .01**

Economic Status

The parents belonging to high economic status showed significantly higher degree of acculturation than their low counterparts on following items: education, wage-employment, urbanization, exposure to mass-media, political participation, language use, daily routine and global acculturation score (Table 11). On participation in religious activities, both groups were similar in the extent of acculturation.

Table 11

Mean Acculturation Scores and F values by Economic Status

INDICES	LOW	HIGH	F (1,342)
Education	26 19 (10-41)	34 04 (11-42)	216.89**
Wage Employment	9 55 (3-19)	10 89 (3-21)	14 89**
Urbanization	21 60 (6-37)	28 86 (6-40)	229 47**
Mass-media	13 00 (1-32)	21 84 (2-34)	97 06**
Political Participation	15 29 (0-26)	17 27 (1-26)	32 84**
Religion	7 41 (4-11)	7 54 (4-11)	0.82
Language	2 17 (1-10)	5 33 (1-10)	283 46**
Daily routine	19 29 (14-32)	23.03 (13-33)	280.21**
Global Acculturation	113 76 (58-183)	147 92 (77-196)	215.18**

** P < .01

Note: Range of obtained scores is shown in parenthesis.

The Interaction Effects

Table 12 contains F values for various interaction effects. The urban mothers (Figure 1) and urban parents belonging to high economic status (Figure 2) were more educated than other groups The fathers across different residential background had more or less similar level of formal education. There was an increase in the education index of grandmothers from rural to urban to metropolitan centres The rural and metropolitan parents belonging to high economic status were less educated than urban

parents. On wage employment, the results showed that the urban and metropolitan parents, particularly the father, belonging to high economic status (Figures 3 and 4) were highly employed Figures 5,6 and 7 revealed that urban and metropolitan parents (both mothers and fathers) belonging to high economic status were greater urbanized.

Table 12

F Values for Interaction Effects

INDICES	Residence x Parental Generation	Residence x Economic Status	Parental Generation x Economic Status	Residence x Parental Generation x Economic Status
df =	4,342	2,342	2,342	4,342
Education	7 61**	6 86**	0.33	1 58
Wage Employment	2 96	7.83**	11.95**	1 67
Urbanization	4 68*	14 75**	6.21**	16.48**
Mass-media	2.06	0.32	0 16	1 93
Political Participation	2 34	1 36	5 47**	9 32**
Religion	4 68*	3 92*	0.73	0 35
Language	4 56*	37.97**	29 51**	4 84*
Daily routine	6 06*	24 76**	6.38**	1 34
Global Acculturation	2 71	7 09**	0 03	2 58

* P < .05
** P < .01

Figure - 1: Interaction between parental generation and their residential background for Education Index.

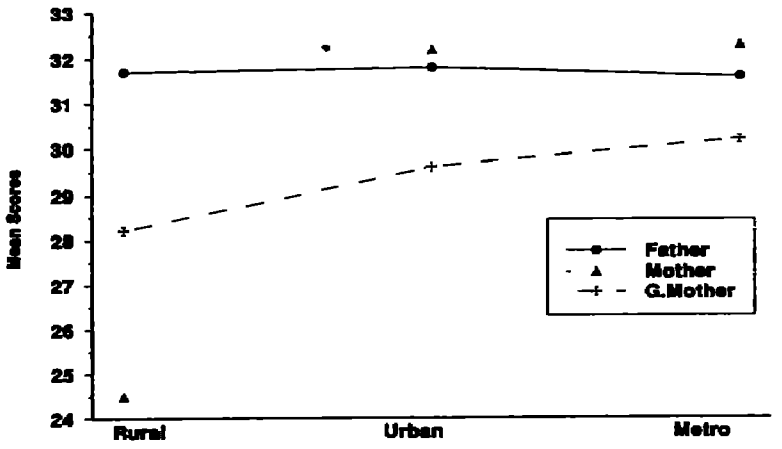


Figure - 2: Interaction between residential background and economic status for Education Index.

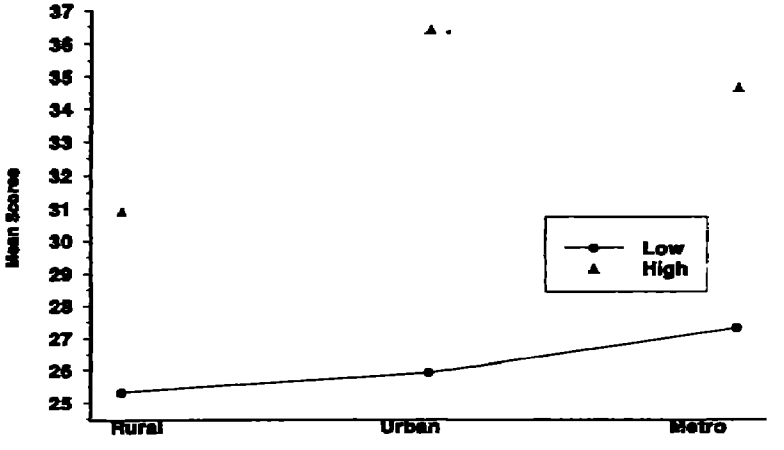


Figure - 3: Interaction between wage employment and economic status for Wage Employment Index.

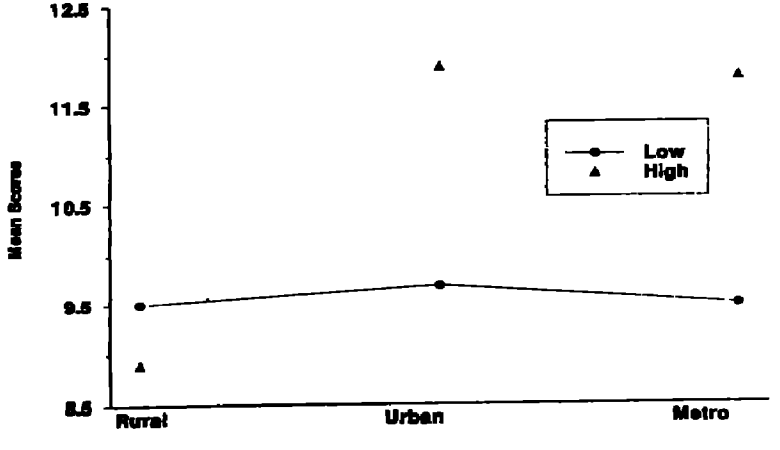


Fig 4 Interaction between parental generation and economic status for Wage Employment Index.

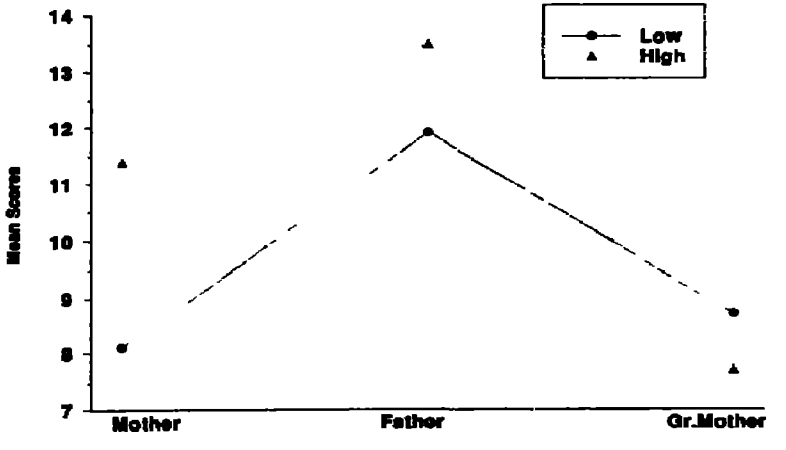


Fig 6 : Interaction between parental generation and residential background for Urbanisation Index.

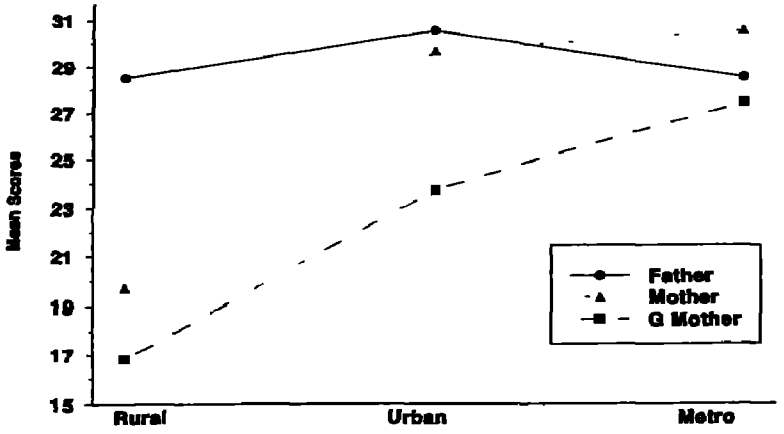


Fig 6 . Interaction between residential background and economic status for Urbanisation Index.

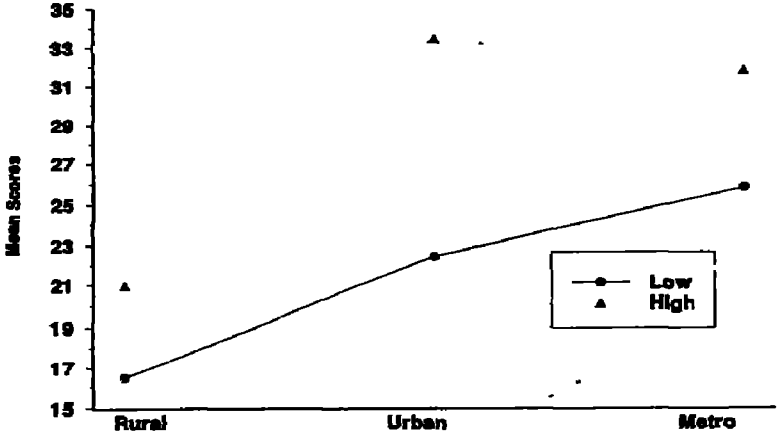


Fig 7 : Interaction between parental generation and economic status for Urbanisation Index.

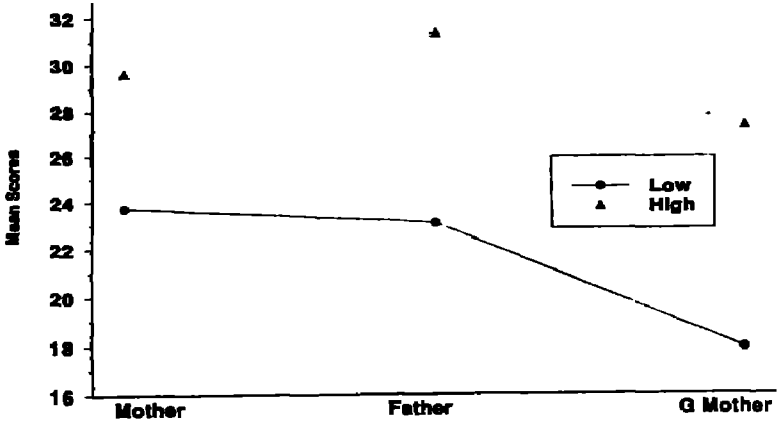
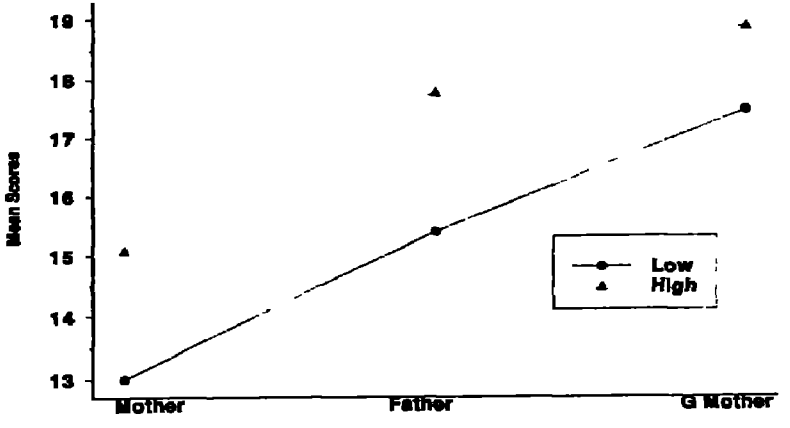


Fig 8 : Interaction between parental generation and economic status for Political Participation.



For mass-media none of the interaction effects was significant. Figure 8 showed that the grandmothers were more participating in political activities than fathers who showed higher political participation than mothers. However, grandmothers belonging to high economic status showed relatively lower participation in political activities than their low status counterparts The urban high economic status parents were more religious (Figures 9 and 10). The urban and metropolitan parents belonging to high economic status demonstrated superior performance on language (Figures 11, 12 and 13) The urban and metropolitan parents belonging to high economic status were more acculturated in their daily routine (Figures 14 and 15). On global acculturation, the urban and metropolitan subjects belonging to high economic status demonstrated higher degree of acculturation than the other groups (Figure 16)

In sum, the results showed that the urban and metropolitan parents were more acculturated than the rural parents Among parents, fathers were more acculturated than mothers, who in turn showed higher degree of acculturation than grandmothers However, on certain aspects (e g , political participation) grandmothers were more acculturated than mothers and fathers The parents belonging to high economic status, irrespective of their residential background, were more acculturated.

Fig 9 : Interaction between parental generation and residential background for Religious Index.

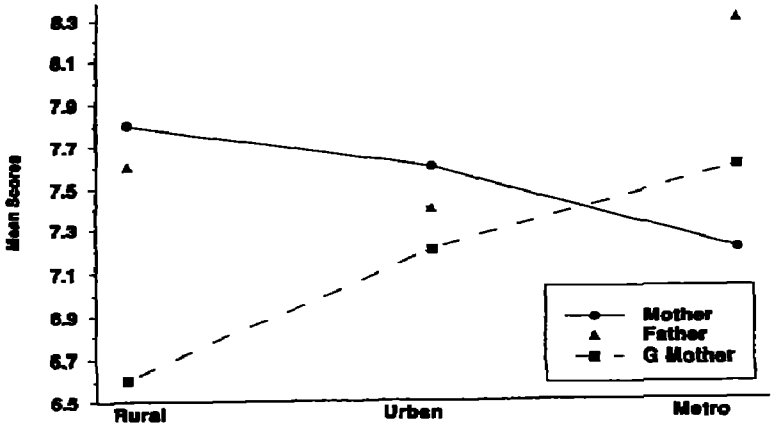


Fig 10: Interaction between residential background and economic status for Religious Index.

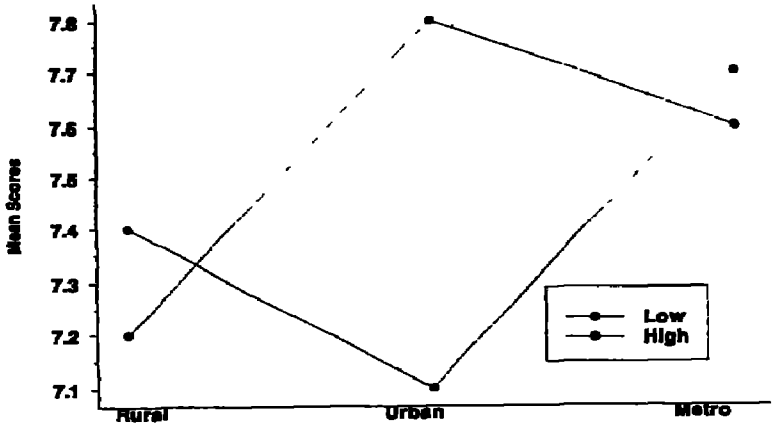


Fig 11: Interaction between residential background and economic status for Language Index.

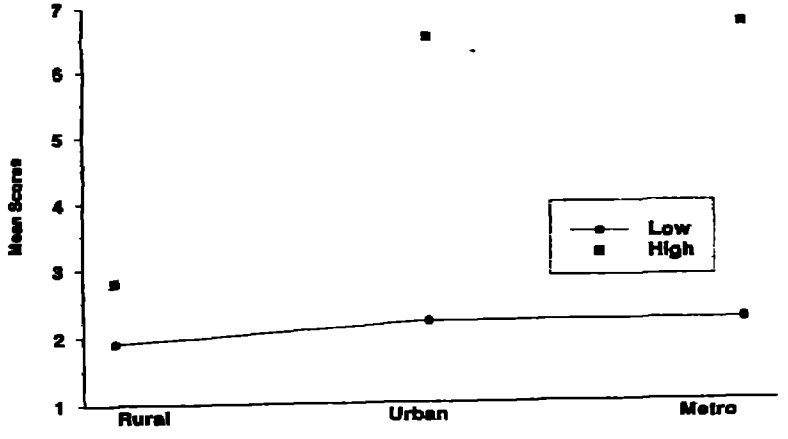


Fig 12: Interaction between parental generation and economic status for Language Index.

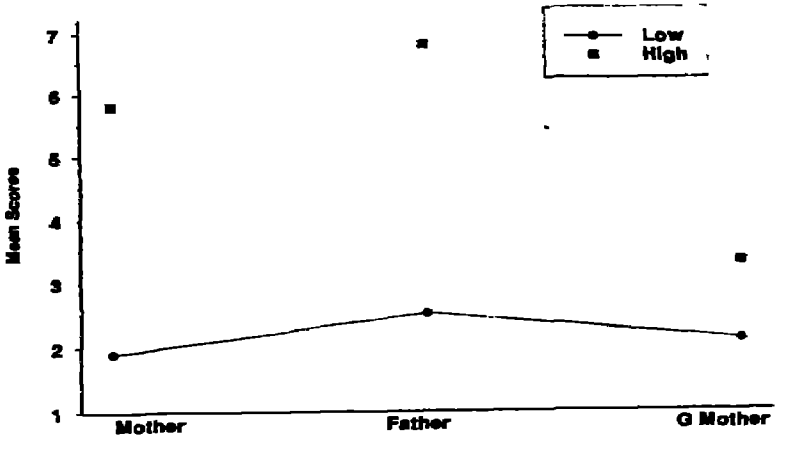


Fig 13: Interaction between residential background and parental generation for Daily Routine Index.

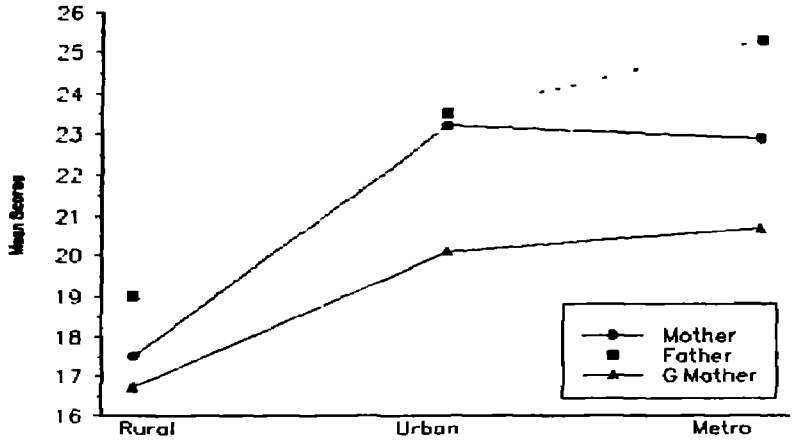


Fig 14: Interaction between residential background and economic status for Daily Routine Index.

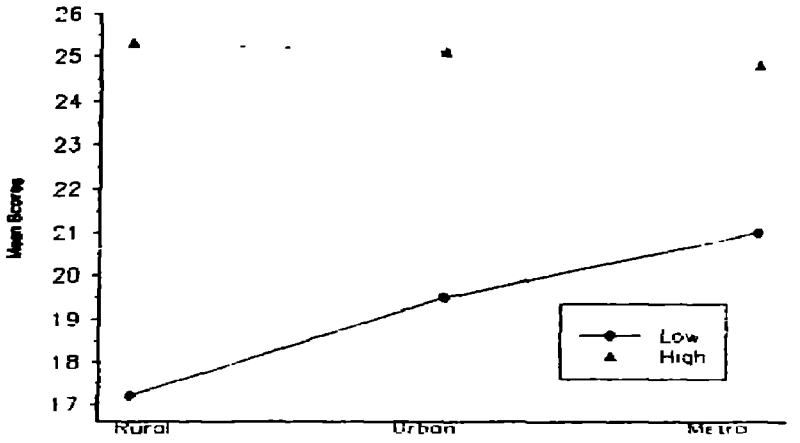


Fig 15: Interaction between parental generation and economic status for Daily Routine Index.

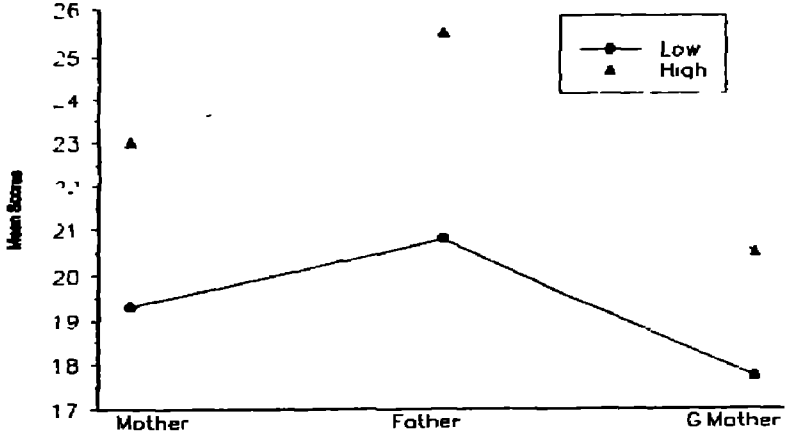
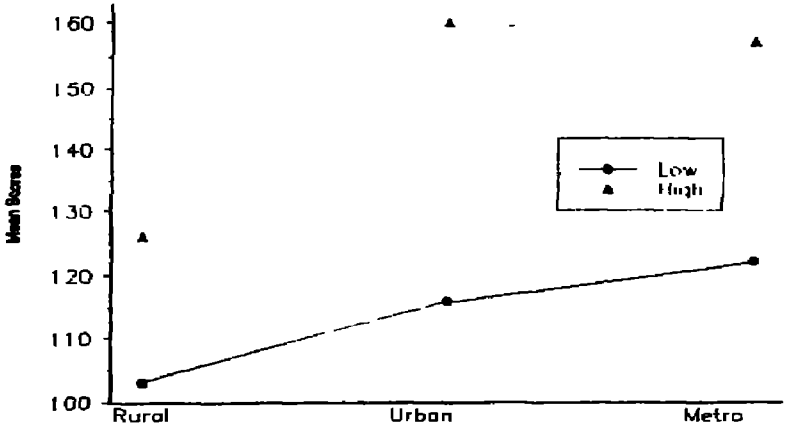


Fig 16: Interaction between residential background and economic status for Acculturation Index.



CHAPTER 4 : SOCIALIZATION FOR VALUES

The parents were interviewed on different dimensions of socialization of children for values Their responses were content analyzed and frequency distributions were prepared. The frequencies were later converted into percentage of responses. Since there was close proximity in the responses of fathers and mothers belonging to a particular group (residence and economic status), their responses were pooled together. Further, grandmothers across different residential backgrounds and economic status expressed similar opinions As such their responses were also pooled together. The salient characteristics of the responses are presented in the subsequent sections.

I

Value and Cost of Children

An analysis of the parental responses (Table 13) revealed that parents perceived

Table 13
Percent Responses for Value and Cost of Children by Residence and Economic Status

RESPONSES	MOTHERS AND FATHERS					GRANDMOTHERS
	R	U	M	LE	HE	
A. Value of Children						
1 Running family lineage	35	20	16	35	15	50
2. Domestic help	41	21	15	38	14	12
3. Source of pleasure	30	27	26	28	33	24
4 Source of Love	26	35	28	23	37	27
5. Companions	14	33	19	18	18	8
6. Bring husband-wife close	29	15	20	22	21	5
7 Make life meaningful	26	46	43	30	43	23
B. Cost of Children						
1. Economic Loss	9	2	15	13	5	2
2. Responsibility of child rearing	1	10	5	8	3	3
3. Cause inconvenience	–	1	2	2	1	6
4. Anxiety about child's health	18	8	21	19	12	15
5 Social obligation	–	4	4	3	3	8
6 Future related anxiety	58	58	30	46	51	46
7. No cost	38	30	33	30	37	41

R = Rural, **U** = Urban, **M** = Metropolitan
LE = Low economic status, **HE** = High economic status.

two types of advantages in having children, i.e. psychological and economic. Among the economic advantages, domestic help received from children, and their contribution in running the family tree were mentioned. The psychological advantages included factors such as children make life more meaningful, are the source of pleasure and love, provide company and bring husband-wife more close. Further, irrespective of their residential background and economic status both the parents expressed similar views. The same was true for grandmothers

Residential Background

The analysis of responses on the measure of value of children revealed that parents from rural areas gave primacy to the economic value of children followed by the psychological ones To rural parents, children were more valuable for the possible domestic help rendered by them followed by their contribution in running the family tree. This was followed by the psychological value of children Thus children were seen valuable for the pleasure they provide to parents, bringing husband-wife more close, as source of love and by their contribution in making life more meaningful, in order of priority.. Their companionship value was least emphasized. In contrast to rural parents, the urban and metropolitan parents emphasized more on the psychological value of children To these parents children were important because they make life more meaningful and are the source of love The urban parents valued children for the company (third rank) and love (fourth rank) provided by them. The parents from metropolitan area gave third rank to the pleasure received from children followed by their role in bringing husband and wife closer and the companionship extended by them. These values were followed by the economic value of children, such as their contribution in running the family lineage and the domestic help to be received from them.

Economic Status

A comparison of the parents belonging to low and high economic status levels revealed certain interesting trends The parents belonging to the low economic status

gave priority to the domestic help received from children followed by their contribution in extending the family tree. The high economic status parents gave priority to the fact that children make life more meaningful, and are the source of love and pleasure. The other psychological advantages, such as children bring husband and wife close, and provide company were less valued The economic utility of children, such as their contribution in extending the family lineage and the domestic help received from them were less valued It may be mentioned that the economic utility of children were not altogether missing even in the case of parents belonging to high economic status.

Grandmother's Views

The grandmothers showed an interesting pattern of responses. A large majority of grandmothers gave prominence to children's utility in running the family lineage. However, the value of children as domestic help was least desired. Instead, children were more valued for their psychological utility, such as they are the source of love and pleasure, and make life more meaningful The children as companions and their role in bringing husband-wife close were least valued by the grandmothers.

Gender Preference

The respondents who perceived the importance of children in terms of extending the family tree were asked about their preference for son or daughter. The metropolitan parents (mothers and fathers) belonging to high economic status and metropolitan fathers from low economic status gave equal importance to son and daughter In contrast, metropolitan mothers belonging to low economic status (82%) and grandmothers (73%) from both low and high economic status preferred son to daughter. In contrast, urban mothers (65%), urban grandmothers (72%), rural mothers (74%) and rural grandmothers (96%) preferred son to daughter. A large majority of the respondents (93%) who perceived the importance of children in terms of extending the family tree believed that sons were advantageous for that they take over the family responsibilities when parents grow old About 30% respondents felt

that daughters also helped in domestic work; though they are not preferred for economic reasons (such as dowry).

Number of Children

The economic value of children is expected to be associated with child numbers. As has been shown in Table 5, the rural parents had higher number of children than urban parents, who in turn had greater number of children than metropolitan parents The rural grandmothers also had greater number of children than urban and metropolitan parents Likewise, the number of children with parents belonging to low economic status was greater than high economic status parents. The same was, however, not true for grandmothers. Also comparisons between mothers and grandmothers across residence and economic status were not significant.

The economic value of children may also be linked to the differences in educational status of males and females. The description of the demographic profile (Chapter 2) illustrates a relatively lower educational status for females participating in the study

Frequency of Responses

Since parents responded to open-end questions, the number of advantages

Table 14

Mean Number of Responses for Value of Children

CATEGORIES		MOTHER	FATHER	GRAND-MOTHER
1. Residential Background	Rural	1.78	2.42	1.50
	Urban	1 55	2 67	1.65
	Metro	2 20	2.05	1 90
2. Economic Status				
	Low	2.47	2.83	1 90
	High	1 65	1.93	1.46

counted by them were computed (Table 14) *Chi-Square* analysis showed that metropolitan parents indicated significantly greater number of advantages in having children than urban parents, who, in turn, gave significantly greater number of responses than rural parents Also fathers counted greater number of advantages than mothers and grandmothers *(Chi-Square (4) = 9.33,P <.01).* No differences were, however, observed in the frequency of responses of mothers, fathers and grandmothers across economic status *(Chi-Square (2) = 0 71)*

Young and Old Parents

Table 15

Percent Responses for Value of Children by Age of the Parents

Responses	R		U		M		LE		HE	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
Mother										
1 Running family lineage	50	50	19	29	27	20	41	50	22	25
2. Domestic help	35	29	15	21	17	20	33	50	8	8
3. Source of pleasure	31	43	27	0	37	10	15	14	53	21
4. Source of love	12	14	23	21	20	20	20	21	17	17
5 Companions	8	0	15	7	27	20	13	7	22	8
6. Bring husband-wife close	12	29	38	36	33	40	20	14	33	33
7. Make life more meaningful	15	7	19	14	10	50	17	50	8	21
Father										
1 Running family lineage	4	0	30	10	0	15	13	20	17	4
2. Domestic help	33	47	30	15	14	12	47	20	22	24
3 Source of pleasure	48	47	35	35	43	24	47	37	28	31
4. Source of love	38	26	40	45	57	9	13	37	28	14
5. Companions	4	21	10	25	42	21	17	33	11	19
6. Bring husband-wife close	43	37	50	70	29	60	40	57	50	57
7. Make life more meaningful	52	68	60	40	57	36	70	63	67	33

R = Rural, **U** = Urban, **M** = Metropolitan, **LE** = Low Economic Status, **HE** = High Economic Status, **Y** = Young, **O** = Old

Table 1 shows that the range of the ages of parents (mothers and fathers) was quite varied (19-50 years) Therefore, the parents were divided into young and old

categories on the basis of median of their ages (Median = 33 years) and their responses were content-analyzed. Table 15 contains the results. The economic value of children in terms of their contribution to running the family tree received primacy by the rural mothers belonging to low economic status irrespective of their age. In contrast, the young rural fathers from low economic status emphasized more the domestic help received from children. In general, the younger parents gave primacy to the psychological value of children than their older counterparts

Costs in Having Children

Among the costs in having children, parents' responses were classified in two categories, i e. economic cost and psychological cost. The economic cost included factors such as financial loss, responsibility of child rearing, social obligation, and inconvenience caused by children The psychological cost included parents concern about the child's health and his/her future insecurity

Among the rural parents, psychological cost received primacy over the economic cost They were relatively more concerned about the child's health and future insecurity The financial loss received less importance To them children were not a responsibility, source of inconvenience, or social obligation About 38% rural parents did not perceive any cost in having children The urban parents gave first priority to future insecurity of children followed by no cost in having children The other relatively less frequently mentioned responses were . responsibility of child rearing, concern about child's health, children as social obligation, financial loss and children as source of inconvenience It may be mentioned that while children were not viewed as causing inconvenience or social obligation for rural parents, a small number of urban parents did perceive them as such The responses of metropolitan parents were more diffused ranging from no cost, future insecurity and health of children, and financial losses (especially be parents belonging to low economic status)

An analysis of the responses of the younger and older parents (Table 16) revealed that psychological cost dominated over the economic cost in all groups of

parents. Parents were highly concerned with the insecure future of their children. This concern was more expressed by younger parents than the older ones. A sizable number of younger mothers were bothered by the responsibility of child care Greater number of older parents showed concern about the child's health care

Table 16

Percent Responses for Cost of Children by the Age of Parents

Responses	R		U		M		LE		HE	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
Mother										
1. Economic loss	3	7	3	7	23	20	2	8	17	21
2. Responsibility of child care	3	0	19	14	10	0	2	4	17	7
3 Cause inconvenience	0	0	3	0	3	0	2	0	2	0
4 Anxiety about child's health	3	14	0	14	20	40	2	20	15	22
5. Social obligation	0	0	12	0	10	0	8	0	6	0
6. Future related anxiety	42	50	69	35	33	30	44	22	50	50
7 No cost	54	57	23	50	43	30	28	41	50	57
Father										
1. Economic loss	4	15	0	0	14	12	5	4	3	17
2. Responsibility of child care	0	0	0	5	0	3	0	2	0	3
3. Cause inconvenience	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3
4 Anxiety about child's health	14	32	10	10	14	18	5	7	20	37
5. Social obligation	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0
6 Future related anxiety	71	79	80	45	71	73	89	57	100	77
7. No cost	19	16	25	50	29	27	11	38	30	20

R = Rural, **U** = Urban, **M** = Metropolitan, **LE** = Low Economic Status, **HE** = High Economic Status, **Y** = Young, **O** = Old

Table 17 contains the mean number of costs expressed by different groups of parents. *Chi-Square* (3x3) indicated that metropolitan parents reported significantly greater number of costs in having children than rural and urban parents. Also, mothers gave greater number of responses than fathers and grandmothers *(Chi-Square (4) = 4 87, P < .05)*. The mothers and grandmothers belonging to low ES counted more

disadvantages in having children than parents of other groups *(Chi-Square (2) = 4.58, P <.05)*

Table 17

Mean Number of Responses for Cost of Children

CATEGORIES		MOTHER	FATHER	GRAND-MOTHER
1. Residential Background	Rural	1 1	1 2	1.2
	Urban	1 3	1 1	1 0
	Metro	1 6	1.3	1 2
2. Economic Status				
	Low	1 53	1.01	1.26
	High	1 13	1.08	1.05

In sum, the results showed that rural parents emphasized more on the economic value of children than urban and metropolitan parents. The parents from low economic status valued children for their economic utility where-as children's psychological value was emphasized more by high economic status parents. The grandmothers emphasized on the children's contribution for running the family tree. While fathers did not discriminate between boys and girls, mothers and grandmothers preferred sons to daughters. The younger parents gave primacy to psychological value of children. The rural parents, grandmothers, and parents belonging to low economic status had more number of children than other groups. Women in these groups were also less educated. Metropolitan parents saw more advantages of children followed by urban and rural parents For costs in having children, rural parents emphasized more on the psychological cost, and urban and metropolitan parents on the economic cost of children

II

Expectations from Children

Parents were asked about their expectations from children. The results are presented in Table 18 The responses were primarily of two types - society-centred, and child-centred. Among the society-centred responses, children were expected to be serving the parents in their old age, be concerned to the family and social welfare, and a good citizen. The child-centred responses included expectations like success in school, life including vocational life, and their being good human beings.

Table 18

Percent Responses for Expectations from Children by Residence and Economic Status

RESPONSES	MOTHERS AND FATHERS					GRAND-MOTHERS
	R	U	M	LE	HE	
1 Achieve success in life	76	75	69	76	71	75
2. Be a good citizen	21	58	31	40	33	28
3 Be concerned to the social and family welfare	28	25	21	24	25	32
4 Progress in school	28	20	18	22	22	27
5 Achieve success in vocational life	24	26	35	33	30	33
6 Serving the parents	29	30	28	37	21	49
7. Be good human being	–	10	10	16	4	6

R = Rural, **U** = Urban, **M** = Metropolitan
LE = Low economic status, **HE** = High economic status.

The overwhelming response of parents irrespective of residence, ES and generation, was that their children should achieve success in life (74%) - a child-centred expectation. This was followed by the desire for children to become good citizens of the country (40%). achieving success in vocational life (28%), serving the parents (26%), and being concerned with the family and social welfare (25%). 'Be a good human being' was the least desired response (7%) which was expressed by none of the rural parents but by majority of parents belonging to low economic status (16%) The grandmothers' second preferred desire was that children should be serving to their parents when they grow old

The analysis of the responses of the young and old parents (Table 19) revealed almost a similar pattern as described above 'Achieving success in life' received first priority by all groups of parents The metropolitan parents belonging to high ES were more expecting. The young metropolitan fathers did not expect their children to be good citizens or be concerned with the social and family welfare The old metropolitan mothers did not expect their children to be concerned to the social and family welfare or progress in the school 'Be a good human being' was least expected by all groups of parents.

Table 19

Percent Responses for Expectations of Children by Age of the Parents

Responses	R		U		M		LE		HE	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
Mother										
1 Achieve success in life	69	85	62	64	60	60	63	71	63	70
2. Be a good citizen	23	21	50	57	43	20	37	43	42	29
3. Be concerned to the social and family welfare	15	28	15	36	33	0	19	07	25	33
4. Progress in school	23	21	12	21	23	0	19	14	19	17
5. Achieve success in vocational life	38	28	35	29	37	20	41	28	31	25
6. Serving the parents	38	14	27	36	53	40	48	36	31	25
7. Be good human being	15	0	19	0	0	10	17	0	02	04
Father										
1. Achieve success in life	71	89	95	75	86	82	80	87	83	76
2. Be a good citizen	19	21	55	65	0	33	37	47	17	33
3. Be concerned to the social and family welfare	43	32	25	15	0	18	37	30	22	17
4. Progress in school	29	37	45	35	14	30	37	40	28	29
5. Achieve success in vocational life	33	53	25	20	57	45	3	43	39	38
6. Serving the parents	29	37	45	25	14	24	4	43	22	19
7 Be good human being	0	0	20	15	14	6	13	6	5	7

R = Rural, **U** = Urban, **M** = Metropolitan, **LE** = Low Economic Status, **HE** = High Economic Status, **Y** = Young, **O** = Old

III

Desirable and Undesirable Human Characteristics

Table 20 contains the percent responses for desirable human qualities which parents belonging to the two generations hailing from different residential backgrounds and economic status desired their children to adopt. Since there was a close correspondence between the responses of mothers and fathers irrespective of their residence and economic status, their responses have been pooled together. Due to similarity, the responses of grand-mothers across residence and economic status were also pooled

Table 20

Percent Responses for Desirable Human Qualities

QUALITIES	MOTHERS AND FATHERS					GRAND-MOTHERS
	R	U	M	LE	HE	
1. Truthfulness	29	44	38	37	37	58
2 Obedience	34	59	55	48	50	62
3. Hardworking	86	81	64	84	71	66
4. Honesty	80	76	66	81	68	73
5. Benevolence	40	41	25	38	32	38
6 Curiosity	14	28	18	14	26	26
7. Justice	13	33	16	13	28	16
8. Religious	20	33	25	18	34	40
9 Social Welfare	21	30	21	20	28	30
10 Tolerance	25	34	23	26	28	34
11 Humanity	38	43	25	33	40	43
12. Friendliness	8	10	8	12	5	11

R = Rural, **U** = Urban, **M** = Metropolitan
LE = Low economic status, **HE** = High economic status.

The parental responses about desirable human qualities may be classified into two groups, i e individual-centred and socio-centric characteristics. Among the individual-centred characteristics parents desired their children to be hardworking, honest, truthful, religious, tolerant and curious The socio-centric characteristics included qualities such as obedience, benevolence, social welfare, justice, humanity and

friendliness It may be mentioned that individual centred qualities have got prominence over the socio-centric qualities among all groups of parents.

Residential Background

A large majority of parents desired their children to be hardworking and honest - the individual-centred characteristics. These characteristics have received primacy among all the parents irrespective of their background. Following these, rural parents emphasized on the development of socio-centric characteristics, such as benevolence, humanity and obedience, in order of priority They also want their children to be truthful, tolerant, religious (individual-centered) and interested in social welfare (socio-centric characteristic). The development of qualities like curiosity, justice and friendliness received less importance

Like rural respondents, urban parents also gave top priority to the individual centred characteristics, such as hard work and honesty These qualities were followed by sociocentric characteristics, such as obedience and humanity. The urban parents also desired their children to speak truth and show benevolence. The other desired characteristics by urban parents in order of priority were: tolerance, justice, religious, social welfare and curiosity Friendliness was least desired. It is interesting to note that, except hardwork and honesty, the other desired characteristics were mentioned by a relatively larger number of urban parents than their rural counter-parts.

The metropolitan parents emphasized more on honesty, hardwork (individual-centred qualities) and obedience (sociocentric characteristic). The other qualities were mentioned by relatively lesser number of metropolitan parents. These characteristics in order of priority were truthfulness, religious, benevolence, humanity, tolerance, social welfare, curiosity and justice Friendliness as a human characteristic was least desired.

Thus it is clear that parents, irrespective of their residential background, wanted their children to be honest and hardworking. It may be important to state that rural and urban parents gave first rank to hardwork and honesty received second rank

The reverse was, however, true for metropolitan parents. Obedience was the third highly valued characteristic by urban and metropolitan parents while it surprisingly received fifth priority by the rural parents Further, the urban and metropolitan parents accorded fifth rank to truthfulness while it received sixth rank by the rural parents. The other highly valued qualities were benevolence and humanity which were ranked third and fourth by rural parents, and fifth and sixth by urban and metropolitan parents. The development of characteristics such as curiosity, justice and friendliness were relatively less emphasized by all the three groups of parents

Economic Status

A comparison of the parental views in relation to social class indicated that hardwork, honesty and obedience were valued highly, in order of priority, by the parents belonging to both low and high economic status. This was followed by qualities such as benevolence, truthfulness and humanity which were assigned fourth, fifth and sixth ranks by low economic status, and sixth, fifth and fourth ranks respectively by high economic status parents. The characteristics such as curiosity, justice and friendliness received low priority by low economic status parents, while high economic status valued friendliness as least desirable.

Grandmother's views

An analysis of the grandmothers' responses revealed consensus among them irrespective of their residential background and economic status affiliations They gave high priority to honesty, hardwork, obedience and truthfulness. The characteristics like humanity, religiosity, benevolence, tolerance and social welfare were second in the order of desirability Friendliness and justice received low priority.

It may be rewarding to compare the responses of parents and grandmothers and see if any cross-generational similarities or differences exist. The parents of two generations gave highest priority to individual-centred characteristics, albeit with changed priorities. While majority of the parents desired their children to be

hardworking followed by honesty the reverse was true for grandmothers. Both parents and grandparents assigned third rank to obedience, a socio-centric characteristic. Further, humanity and truthfulness turned out to be the fourth and fifth priorities, respectively, by parents while the reverse was true for grandmothers. The characteristics such as curiosity, justice and friendliness were least desired by both group of respondents.

Young and Old Parents

Table 21

Percent Responses for Desirable Human Characteristics by Age of the Parents

Responses	R		U		M		LE		HE	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
Mother										
1. Truthfulness	27	43	46	5	46	50	41	64	38	37
2 Obedience	50	57	46	35	73	40	5	64	66	54
3. Hardworking	84	78	53	5	63	70	69	71	63	62
4. Honesty	65	64	57	85	56	80	63	1	55	62
5. Benevolence	23	35	23	42	36	40	26	5	30	33
6. Curiosity	12	14	15	42	26	30	10	21	27	33
7. Justice	12	7	19	64	23	10	10	21	27	33
8. Religious	19	35	15	57	4	40	17	42	36	45
9. Social Welfare	19	35	19	5	26	20	19	28	25	37
10. Tolerance	19	57	15	42	16	50	15	57	19	29
11. Humanity	26	71	27	35	4	50	23	71	38	58
12. Friendliness	15	07	11	0	6	0	10	0	11	16
Father										
1. Truthfulness	19	15	3	55	14	36	2	26	3	4
2 Obedience	38	15	5	60	42	60	36	53	5	5
3. Hardworking	10	94	85	85	85	78	93	9	8	78
4. Honesty	61	78	90	75	85	84	66	8	9	80
5. Benevolence	42	26	50	55	28	27	8	3	3	45
6. Curiosity	9	10	50	55	14	12	13	13	2	26
7. Justice	14	10	20	50	0	18	13	2	2	28
8. Religious	23	26	25	55	28	24	16	21	4	40
9 Social Welfare	28	21	20	50	14	24	3	2	1	35
10. Tolerance	38	36	30	45	14	27	3	3	3	40
11. Humanity	42	15	25	55	42	33	3	2	5	47
12. Friendliness	0	5	10	15	0	3	3	0	0	9

R = Rural, **U** = Urban, **M** Metropolitan, **LE** = Low Economic Status,

HE = High Economic Status, Y = Young, **O** = Old

Among the parents (i.e., mothers and fathers), comparisons were made between young and old parents (divided on the basis of median of their ages = 33 years) and the results are contained in Table 21. The individual-centred characteristics such as honesty and hardwork have turned out to be the modal characteristics, followed by socio-centric values such as obedience and humanity. However, a very clear cut pattern for young and old parents is not visible. Results show a mixture of different values

Frequency of Responses

Table 22 contains the mean number of desirable characteristics as counted by parents. The grandmothers scored significantly greater number of characteristics than mothers and fathers Also, the rural parents reported significantly greater number of characteristics than urban parents, who, in turn, counted significantly greater number of characteristics than metropolitan parents *(Chi-Square (4) = 22.64, P < 01)*. The parents from low ES background counted higher number of characteristics than high ES background *(Chi-Square (2) = 10 98, P <.01)*.

Table 22

Mean Number of Desirable Characteristics

CATEGORIES		MOTHER	FATHER	GRAND-MOTHER
1. Residential Background	Rural	4 47	4 2	6.9
	Urban	4 7	5.5	5 0
	Metro	4.75	4 3	4.97
2. Economic Status				
	Low	4.3	4.3	6 1
	High	3 31	4 9	5.15

Undesirable Characteristics

The respondents were asked about the undesirable characteristics which they would not like their children to inculcate The results are contained in Table 23. The obtained responses can be classified into individual-centred and socio-centric characteristics. Among the individual-centred characteristics, laziness, greed, fearfulness, telling lie, and taking medicine were mentioned by the parents. The socio-centric characteristics included disobedience, quarrelness, stealing, and arrogance.

Table 23

Percent Responses for Undesirable Characteristics by Residence and Economic Status

CHARACTERISTICS	MOTHERS AND FATHERS					GRAND-MOTHERS
	R	U	M	LE	HE	
1 Disobedience	70	66	60	61	70	64
2. Laziness	81	71	70	72	77	71
3. Quarrelness	84	80	68	79	75	76
4. Greed	78	76	68	71	77	71
5 Fear	80	75	66	72	76	70
6. Stealing	19	19	18	27	10	19
7 Arrogance	1	11	4	8	3	7
8 Telling lie	–	–	–	–	–	3
9 Taking medicine	2	–	–	–	–	4

R = Rural, **U** = Urban, **M** = Metropolitan
LE = Low economic status, **HE** = High economic status.

Three individual - centred characteristics such as laziness, greed and fear, and two socio-centric characteristics such as disobedience and quarrelness were considered highly undesirable by parents of different groups Also, within a particular group there was least variation in the percentage of parental responses. The characteristics such as stealing and arrogance were described undesirable by few parents A somewhat contradictory finding was that telling a lie was not deemed undesirable by parents; only a very small percentage of grandmothers described it undesirable.

An analysis of the pattern of responses indicates that parents from rural, urban, low economic status as well as grandmothers considered quarrelness to be highly undesirable In contrast, metropolitan and high economic status parents viewed laziness and greed to be highly undesirable Thus the first group of parents (i e rural, urban, low economic status and grandmother) were social in their orientation, the second group showed personal orientation as far as percentage of responses for undesirable characteristics were concerned.

Table 24

Percent Responses for Undesirable Characteristics by Age of the Parents

Responses	R		U		M		LE		HE	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
Mother										
1. Disobedience	95	84	75	90	86	76	80	100	89	83
2. Laziness	90	84	75	95	57	82	100	100	100	88
3. Quarrelness	86	74	95	85	57	88	100	100	89	88
4 Greed	90	84	70	90	57	85	90	100	89	88
5. Fear	95	89	75	100	86	79	93	100	93	88
6 Stealing	–	32	15	15	14	15	6	13	6	9
7. Arrogance	–	–	15	5	–	6	–	6	–	6
8. Telling lie	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9. Taking medicine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Father										
1. Disobedience	65	78	46	57	57	80	47	93	67	58
2. Laziness	76	78	54	64	60	100	59	100	69	67
3. Quarrelness	84	78	85	87	67	100	71	100	86	54
4. Greed	61	71	65	71	63	90	54	93	75	67
5 Fear	73	71	62	78	70	80	59	93	80	67
6. Stealing	12	28	15	07	30	20	22	14	17	20
7. Arrogance	03	28	03	07	03	10	02	14	05	17
8. Telling lie	–	14	07	–	06	10	06	21	02	08
9. Taking medicine	–	07	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	04

R = Rural, **U** = Urban, **M** = Metropolitan, **LE** = Low Economic Status, **HE** = High Economic Status, **Y** = Young, **O** = Old

The analysis of the responses of young and old parents (Table 24) did not indicate any significant deviation than the responses mentioned above. The rural parents reported significantly greater number of undesirable characteristics (Table 25) followed by metropolitan and urban parents. Fathers counted significantly greater number of undesirable characteristics followed by grandmothers and mothers *(Chi-Square (4) = 9 23, P < 01)* Also parents belonging to low ES scored higher than their high ES counterparts *(Chi-Square) (2) = 4.66, P < 05)*

Table 25

Mean Number of Undesirable Characteristics

CATEGORIES		MOTHER	FATHER	GRAND-MOTHER
1. Residential Background	Rural	4 10	4.50	4.80
	Urban	3 35	4 50	3.17
	Metro	3 97	4.40	3 90
2. Economic Status				
	Low	3 93	4 3	4 41
	High	3 68	4 5	3.51

To conclude, parents gave first priority to individual - centred characteristics such as honesty and hardwork, followed by socio-centric characteristics such as obedience, benevolence and truthfulness However, group differences were observed in parents' responses The characteristics such as disobedience, laziness, quarrelness, greed and fear were deemed highly undesirable The rural parents yielded greater number of desirable or undesirable characteristics The grandmothers showed larger number of desirable characteristics whereas fathers scored high on counting undesirable characteristics

IV

Training Methods

Parents were interviewed with regard to the method used by them to inculcate desirable qualities and eliminate undesirable characteristics in children. Table 26 shows that parents and grandmothers used four methods, i.e., story telling, persuasion, scolding and physical punishment Majority of the respondents used persuasion, followed by story telling and scolding, and physical punishment is least used. Story telling was more common among rural parents than urbans and metropolitans, who used scolding more oftenly The parents belonging to low economic status used story telling more frequently than their high economic status counterparts who used scolding more frequently However, the difference in the use of story telling and scolding in both groups (low and high economic status) was very low. The use of physical punishment was more common among rural parents, particularly those belonging to low economic status The high ES parents did not prefer the use of physical punishment. The grandmothers used persuasion more frequently followed by scolding, story telling and physical punishment

Table 26

Percent Responses for Training Methods by Residence and Economic Status

METHOD	MOTHERS AND FATHERS					GRAND-MOTHERS
	R	U	M	LE	HE	
1 Story Telling	39	6	20	38	26	29
2. Persuasion	81	86	55	77	72	77
3. Scolding	33	41	19	33	29	32
4. Physical punishment	15	–	5	13	–	5

R = Rural, **U** = Urban, **M** = Metropolitan
LE = Low economic status, **HE** = High economic status.

The younger rural, urban and high economic status fathers (Table 27) indicated greater use of persuasion. while the same was true for old metropolitan and low economic status fathers The use of physical punishment was more common among

fathers than mothers The young fathers from metropolitan area and high economic status did not show the use of physical punishment

Table 27

Percent Responses for Training Methods by Age of the Parents

Methods	R		U		M		LE		HE	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
Mother										
1. Story Telling	30	21	07	-	17	50	17	14	19	25
2. Persuasion	80	85	76	78	60	60	70	79	75	73
3. Scolding	26	50	42	43	23	30	37	50	22	38
4. Physical punishment	-	-	-	-	06	-	02	-	02	-
Father										
1. Story Telling	4	11	-	-	14	60	6	33	-	29
2. Persuasion	100	89	95	85	57	73	77	100	100	79
3. Scolding	57	53	70	35	43	18	43	36	44	26
4. Physical punishment	4	11	5	5	-	3	3	3	-	4

R = Rural, **U** = Urban, **M** = Metropolitan, **LE** = Low Economic Status, **HE** = High Economic Status, **Y** = Young, **O** = Old

V

Relevance of Ancient Indian Values

The respondents answered to the relevance of ancient Indian values, like truth prevails, honesty, benevolence, non-violence, simple living and high thinking, and *nishkama karma.* The list of values was read to the respondents who responded about their appropriateness in the present context. About 87% parents and 65% grandmothers considered these values to be relevant in the present context The remaining 13% parents were not in favour of *nishkama karma.* They felt that desireless actions lead individuals nowhere

VI

Criteria for Desirable / undesirable Behaviour

When asked how parents classify a behaviour into desirable / undesirable category, the following responses were obtained (Table 28) : Parents themselves (68%), society (58%), family members (28%), peer group (28%), modernity (11%), and the poor child the least (10%) It may be noted that while 18% parents belonging to high ES, majority of them being urban (21%), used child as the criteria, only 2% parents belonging to low ES did so

Table 28

Percent Responses for the Criteria to classify Behaviour and Locus of Perceived Responsibility

	MOTHERS AND FATHERS					GRAND-MOTHERS
A. CRITERIA FOR CLASSIFYING A BEHAVIOUR INTO DESIRABLE/UNDESIRABLE CATEGORY	R	U	M	LE	HE	
1. Child	2	21	8	2	18	3
2. Parents	71	78	55	76	55	81
3. Family members	26	31	25	38	17	24
4 Peer Group	25	35	24	38	18	21
5 Social norms	41	73	59	64	51	63
6 Modernity	2	16	14	10	12	5
B. LOCUS OF PERCEIVED RESPONSIBILITY FOR CHILDREN'S DESIRABLE UNDESIRABLE BEHAVIOURS						
1. Parents	70	83	80	90	41	80
2. Peer Group	50	69	65	81	36	60
3. Society	55	69	80	82	46	65

R = Rural, **U** = Urban, **M** = Metropolitan
LE = Low economic status, **HE** = High economic status.

VII

Locus of Perceived Responsibility

Who were to be blamed when children, despite all precautions, develop undesirable characteristics ? The responses, shown in Table 28, were varied· Parents (78%), peer group (61%), and society (68%) The pattern of responses remained unchanged due to economic status, however, parents belonging to low economic status seemed to be more certain in their responses than their high economic counterparts.

VIII

Extent of Compromise

Parents were asked question about the extent to which they will allow children to show contradictory value pattern About 58% parents said that they try to ensure that children do not develop undesirable characteristics, and 36% do not allow their children to develop contradictory value patterns

IX

Agreement among the family members

When asked about the extent of agreement among family members regarding the pattern of values a child should develop, 84% parents and 95% grandmothers reported for total agreement among the family members .

X

Grandmother's Responses

The grandmothers were asked few additional questions To the question that whether today's mothers are developing appropriate values in children, 83% of them replied in affirmation. Asked about the importance of values in life, 40% grandmothers considered them to be the basis of life The other response categories were : values guide individuals (17%), make them civilized (9%), and no importance (2%).

CHAPTER 5 : GENERAL DISCUSSION

The present study aimed at examining the impact of social changes which the present day Indian society is undergoing on the value preferences of parents. It was argued that exposure to the western ethos, as well as rapid industrialization and urbanization of the Indian society has brought certain changes in the family structure, value preferences of the parents and their goals of socializing the children. In recent years there has been a marked emphasis by policy makers to teach appropriate values to children in the school The value system of the society, on the other hand, seems to have drastically changed. The present social reality has been characterized by fragmentation of emotive and cognitive life space in the Indian identity, lack of flexibility in exercising choices, conflicts and dilemmas in making choices in areas such as lifestyle, holding empirically tested beliefs with little room for faith, struggling to relate to fathers and mothers as people and not just as parents, giving primacy to the demands of self-created and self-chosen relationships, changes in the definition and perspective of progress and development such as self-oriented, system-centred and competence-centred development (Garg & Parikh, 1995) Against this backdrop the study analyzed the value preferences of parents hailing from diverse generations, residential backgrounds and economic status.

The Experience of Acculturation

Before examining the impact of social changes it becomes obligatory to document the nature and extent of changes the Indian society has undergone or is undergoing. To this end the extent of acculturation in the parental behaviour was examined on eight dimensions of acculturation, namely, education, employment, urbanization, exposure to mass-media, political participation, religion, language use and daily routine as well as global acculturation. The urban and metropolitan parents showed higher degree of acculturation on dimensions such as education, employment, urbanization, exposure to mass-media, language use, and daily routine than their rural counterparts. The urban and metropolitan parents shared similar degree of acculturation. Due to unequal distribution of resources which are largely centred around urban areas, these days there is a trend in the country that rural educated youth migrate to the urban or metropolitan centres, in search of livelihood Thus they have

greater urban contact and find employment of some kind. The urban and metropolitan centres are equally covered by the mass-media, both in terms of availability and use of television network, newspapers and magazines and require people to use languages different from their native ones This also brings certain changes in their daily routine related to dress, diction and deport. These factors may probably be responsible for the higher acculturation of urban and metropolitan parents

The rural parents, in contrast, showed greater participation in the political activities than urban and metropolitan parents This finding, to some extent, reveals some of the complexities of urban life In urban and metropolitan centres parents have to travel long distances to reach their work place and thus leaving their homes early in the morning and returning back late in the night. They are virtually left with no time but to look after family activities, relax and prepare for the next day Participation in the social activities becomes secondary The situation becomes more aggravated for the fact that majority of the urban and metropolitan families have migrated from rural areas with no one to share their family responsibilities in the new place In contrast, life in rural area is rather simple Since majority of the families are joint families, there are persons to look after diverse family activities In addition, agricultural activities require extensive engagement of people for some time and thereafter they have enough leisure time. Thus rural parents have time to participate in social activities including politics

The results revealed an interesting trend that participation in religious activities did not vary significantly across residential background Despite their busy schedules parents find time to participate in the religious activities. This shows that religion has gone deep into the psyche of Indian people It is something which is considered to be personal as well as social.

The fathers showed higher level of acculturation than mothers and grandmothers on education and employment It has been argued earlier that educated rural youth, primarily males, migrate to the urban centres in search of employment On the dimensions of language use, daily routine and global acculturation fathers were

more acculturated than mothers who, in turn, showed higher acculturation than grandmothers. The grandmothers were relatively less urbanized and had lower exposure to mass-media than mothers and fathers In the Indian social system fathers have been primarily responsible for activities to be performed outside the home and mothers inside the home However, in the changed social context some mothers also go out for work and the performance of other activities. Since these activities require interaction with other people whose language and behavioural styles are different from the rural ones, fathers showed higher level of acculturation than mothers. The grandmothers, being primarily dependent on their children, are free from such liabilities. Hence they showed lower level of acculturation than their children The results thus show the generation gap in the degree of experienced acculturation. The grandmothers, in contrast, demonstrated higher degree of participation in political activities than mothers and fathers Since mothers and fathers remain busy in meeting their both ends of the day and grandmothers are relatively free from such liabilities, they have time to participate in the political activities

The study strengthened the argument that individuals belonging to high economic status have greater tendency to be modernized. Parents belonging to high economic status were more acculturated than their low economic status counterparts on all dimensions except religion. The religion seems to be the meeting point between high and low economic status parents without regard to their residential background.

Socialization for Values

Despite the differences in the degree of acculturation mothers and fathers shared almost similar value preferences The value preferences of grandmothers was slightly at variance with those of mothers and fathers. However, there were similarities in the value preferences of grandmothers across residential backgrounds and economic status affiliations The study thus demonstrated that the bond between husband and wife is strong not only at the physical level but also at the psychological level. Also, there has been a change in the structure of Indian families with time These changes

are more obvious in certain areas such as perceived value and cost of children, the desirable human characteristics and the training methodologies

Value and Cost in Having Children:

The effect of acculturation was more prominent in case of the perceived value and cost in having children The rural and low economic status parents perceived the advantages of children in terms of their economic value, i e., in terms of children's contribution in running the family tree and material contribution received from them As such, they go for having more number of children (average 3 children) since their effects become additive. While the young rural mothers gave imporatnce to the children's contribution in running the family tree, young rural fathers emphasized on the material help received from them. The rural parents were primarily agriculturists The agricultural activities require enough hands to work It is also seen that rural youth going to the urban centres in search of job keep on sending a share of their income to parents and thus provide economic support. In contrast, the urban, metropolitan and high economic status parents (the highly acculturated group) emphasized on the psychological value of children To them, children were more valuable for they make life meaningful, were the source of pleasure and love, provide company, and bring husband-wife more close Since these advantages can be achieved with smaller number of children, majority of these groups of parents had two children The educational status of women pertaining to these groups was also high.

The responses of grandmothers across different residential backgrounds showed an intermix of the economic and psychological values of children A large majority of the grandmothers valued children for their contribution in running the family tree This was followed by the psychological value of children. The domestic help received from children was given least importance by the grandmothers. This shows a shift in the value structure of the Indian families. What was preferred least by the grandmothers was ranked second by the rural and low economic status parents This also shows a shift in the daily life pattern of the Indian people from simple to a more complex one

The results demonstrated that while fathers did not discriminate between sons and daughters, mothers and grandmothers across different residential backgrounds, except high economic status metropolitan mothers, preferred sons to daughters In the Indian society, sons are expected to support their parents when they grow old, are considered to be an extension of the family and essential for performing death rituals for their parents. In contrast, daughters are considered to be liabilities, the things of *daan* (*Kanyadaan* is rationalized as one of the noblest *daan*).

Among the costs in having children the rural and low economic status parents emphasized on the psychological cost such as child's future insecurity and anxieties about his/her health The concern for future insecurity of the child reflects the status of children in rural India and urban slums where majority of them do not get proper food, clothes, shelter, medical care and employment. That is why these mothers counted greater number of costs in having children as compared to other group of mothers. The urban and metropolitan parents from high economic status considered children as social obligation, source of discomfort in their daily life This may be another reason why parents belonging to these groups had smaller number of children. It is, however, to be noted that a large majority of the parents did not perceive any cost in having children

The study thus demonstrated a change in the child-rearing goals of parents from rural to urban and metropolitan centres and low economic status to high economic status. Also, a change in the child rearing goals is observed from grandmothers to young parents. The results have implications for understanding the changes in the family structure and its relationship with childrearing practices prevalent in different groups of people in India. The economic value confers on the child the status of a non-entity where his/her existence as a human being is almost denied This seems to be the status of children in rural India and in families belonging to low economic status The urban, metropolitan and high economic status parents, by emphasizing on the psychological values of children, seems to have recognized the status of children as human beings.

Regarding parents' expectations from children it was observed that the parents, in general, expected their children to achieve success in life including their vocational life. This was followed by the desire for children to become good citizens of the country (more by urban parents), serving the parents and being concerned with the family and social welfare Here again the individual - centred characteristics got prominence over the socio-centric qualities. This has probably something to do with the socio-economic structure of the country. There is so much competition in every walk of life, particularly at the school stage that getting into a right kind of career has become synonymous to achieving success in life. The reverse was true in ancient India when socio-centric qualities were used as norms for judging one's success in life Surprisingly, being a good human being was the least desired response.

Development of Desirable and Undesirable Characteristics:

The most crucial aspect of the study was examining the value preferences of parents across two generations which they want/wanted their children to adopt. It may be mentioned that parents in general emphasized on almost similar value patterns, with a slightly changed priority. The two individual - centred characteristics, i.e. honesty and hardwork, received primacy by parents of all groups. However, while majority of the parents desired their children to be hardworking followed by honesty, the grandmothers assigned first rank to honesty followed by the hardwork. Both parents and grandparents assigned third rank to obedience, a socio-centric characteristics. The other characteristics in order of priority were truthfulness, humanity, benevolence, tolerance, religious and social welfare. Justice, curiosity, and friendliness were least desired qualities. The above values have been regarded desirable in India since ancient times Indian socialization values thus seem to be of indigenous origin, reflecting the impact of a well-defined cultural background that has strong roots. This may be due to the fact, as Uka (1966) has claimed, that socialization values are never amenable to easy changes because beliefs about the origin of life are not held on a rational basis A large majority of the respondents considered the ancient value system still relevant in the context of present day changes.

The parents did not want their children to show laziness, greed, fearfulness, ling lie, taking medicine, show disobedience, quarrelness, stealing and arrogance. ıe rural, urban, low economic status parents as well as grandmothers considered arrelness to be highly undesirable In contrast, metropolitan and high economic ıtus parents viewed laziness and greed to be highly undesirable Thus the first group parents were social in their orientation, the second group showed personal ientation in their responses for undesirable characteristics. A similar trend was noted another study by Mathur and Misra (1995)

The results related to the perceived value and cost of children, and preferenes r values are to some extent contradictory On the one hand, there is a change in the rental goals that guide socialization of vlaues in terms of perceived value and cost in ving children. The socialization for values, on the other hand, shows no difference in e preferences of parents belonging to different groups It seems that Indian parents e passing through a stage of transition where changes in the desired goals are ıserved but these changes are yet to find expression in their behavioural repertoire. other words, the impact of social change is seen in the cognitive domain These anges are yet to find expression through the affective and conative domains of Indian ıople.

An interesting finding of this study was that grandmothers, rural parents and ırents from low economic status counted greater number of desirable or undesirable ıaracteristics than other groups of parents This probably shows the involvement of ırents with their children These parents emphasized more on the economic value of eir children and, thus, probably wanted to see more desirable and less undesirable ıaracteristics in children. Further, in rural areas there is a close proximity in the life ıace of parents and children; they more or less live together. In urban and etropolitan areas, particularly high economic status, parents can provide the required nenities to their children but have no time to spend with them Lack of time may also ɜ related to the former group of parents (grandmothers, rural, low economic status) ɔunting more number of desirable or undesirable characteristics.

Related to the value preferences of parents is the method adopted by parents to develop these characteristics in children. The results showed that rural parents adopt the method of story telling for developing desirable characteristics in children. Many lessons are taught using proverbs and folk tales which contain moral themes and describe virtuous acts for children to emulate. The urban and metropolitan parents opted for the method of persuasion in terms of does and don'ts. Another difference was that rural parents, particularly from low economic status, used physical punishment more often The use of physical punishment was not observed in case of high economic status parents The grandmothers used persuasion more frequently followed by scolding, story telling and physical punishment.

Indian parents seem to be in a state of dilemma as far as the value preferences are concerned. On the one hand, they want to follow the traditional value patterns. On the other hand, they themselves decide what is desirable or undesirable for the child and take the blame upon themselves in case the children develop undesirable characteristics The role of society comes later More importantly the role of child in deciding what is desirable or undesirable to them has almost been denied. More than half of the parents opined that they make sure that children do not develop undesirable characteristics. However, there seems to be an agreement among the family members (parents and grand-parents) about what is desirable or undesirable for children. Since children were not included in the present study, it may be rewarding to analyze their perception of the value preferences of the family members.

In sum, it can be said that under the impact of Western education, urbanization and industrialization there is a change in the parental goals for having children and training methods Within this change, however, parents want their children to develop value systems which are indigenous in nature Thus Indian parents are in dilemma It seems that parents, on the one hand, accept the changes the Indian social system is undergoing On the other hand, they are cautious of its ill effects and want their children to adopt the long cherished indigenous value systems. This is probably the right time to teach children the traditional value system using diverse measures such as

school, mass-media , etc. Also, parents need to be oriented in their value system and teach children values which are indigenous in nature to maintain compatibility between home and school It is hoped that these measures will go a long way in re-orienting the Indian society and fight with the ill-effects of modernization. It is not intended to argue that modernization is undesirable, however, erosion of indigenous value systems under the impact of modernization is certainly undesirable which needs to be checked on priority.

A society is a dynamic structure and, therefore, changes are inevitable However, some changes are functional while others are dysfunctional Blind adoption of alien cultural values will be self-defeating The indigenous value system has scope to address even the complexities of modern challenges. They may be restructured and organized to strengthen the social structure and enhance the quality of life This issue is becoming central to all contemporary life as we have to address simultaneously the global as well as local issues

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Having to live through a period of rapid and profound political, economic and social changes, the present study examined the structure of value system today's parents want their children to adopt and compare them with those of the grand-parents. More particularly, the study analyzed the views of the parents belonging to two generations on value and cost in having children, expectations from children, desirable and undesirable human qualities, the training methods, relevance of ancient Indian values, criteria for classifying a behaviour into desirable / undesirable category, locus of perceived responsibility, extent of compromise, and agreement among the family members.

A sample of 360 parents (120 mothers, 120 fathers, and 120 grandmothers) of children below 10 years of age from 3 residential backgrounds (rural / urban / metropolitan) and 2 economic status (low/high) participated in the study. The rural parents were taken from the remote villages of Allahabad, urban from Allahabad city and metropolitan from New Delhi. The following interview schedules were developed and used in the study.

a) **Demographic Characteristics** · It contained the following items of information: Age, caste, education, occupation and monthly income of the parents; child's age and number of children; type and number of family members; and religious involvement of parents.

b) **Acculturation Index** The interview schedule consisted of 58 items related to 8 dimensions of acculturation, viz., education, wage employment, urbanization, mass-media, political participation, religion, language and daily practice. In addition, a global acculturation index was also computed

c) **Value Development** Three separate open-ended interview schedules, each consisting of 16 items for mothers, fathers and grandmothers, were developed. The schedules dealt with the following aspects of value development. Value and

cost of children, gender preference, expectations from children, desirable and undesirable characteristics, training method, relevance of ancient Indian values, classification of behaviours into desirable / undesirable categories, locus of perceived responsibility, extent of compromise, and agreement among the family members

The results showed that urban and metropolitan parents were more acculturated on all dimensions of acculturation except political participation and religion While there was no difference in the religious activities of the three groups, rural parents were more participating in political activities than urban and metropolitan parents. Likewise, fathers were more acculturated than mothers who, in turn, showed higher acculturation than grandmothers The grandmothers, however, showed more political participation than mothers and fathers. The economic status of the parents seemed to play a pivotal role in the determining their extent of acculturation The higher economic status of the parents led to greater degree of acculturation

Viewed in the context of acculturation there appeared to be a consensus in the value patterns of urban and metropolitan parents, and between mothers and fathers As regards the value and cost of children, rural parents and parents from low economic status emphasized more on the economic value of children, i.e., their contribution in running the family tree and the domestic help likely to be received from them. The urban and metropolitan parents from high economic status gave weightage to the psychological value of children The children were seen as a source of love, pleasure, companions bringing husband and wife more close and thus make life more meaningful The grandmothers emphasized on the children's contribution in running the family tree While fathers did not discriminate between boys and girls, mothers and grandmothers preferred sons to daughters. The rural parents, grandmothers and parents belonging to low economic status had relatively higher number of children. The rural parents emphasized on psychological cost in having children, such as children's future insecurity and anxieties related to their health The urban and metropolitan parents saw economic costs in having children, such as financial problems, social obligation, inconvenience, etc The parents, in general, expected their

children to achieve success in school and life The results thus indicated the change in the family structure of the Indian society across residential and economic status backgrounds.

Parents desired their children to be hardworking and honest While rural and urban parents gave first rank to hardwork, the metropolitan parents gave top priority to honesty. Obedience was the third highly valued characteristic. The other characteristics in order of priority were truthfulness, humanity, benevolence, tolerance, religious, social welfare, justice, curiosity, and friendliness Parents did not want their children to adopt characteristics such as disobedience, laziness, quarrelness, greed, fear, stealing and arrogance The grandmothers also showed a similar pattern preferences As far as the value preferences are concerned the study shows the impact of traditional indigenous heritage on the behaviour pattern of Indian parents The grandmothers, rural parents, and parents from low ES counted greater number of desirable or undesirable characteristics than parents from other groups It is important to note that parents did not discriminate between boys and girls on desirable/ undesirable human characteristics

On the methods adopted by parents to develop desirable characteristics in children, it was found that while rural parents adopted story telling mode, urban and metropolitan parents used the method of persuasion The use of physical punishment was more common in rural parents, particularly from low economic status. Majority of the grandmothers used persuasion followed by scolding, story telling and physical punishment

A large number of parents and grandmothers considered the ancient Indian values to be relevant in the present context There was a substantial agreement among the family members about what is desirable or undesirable. The parents classified a behaviour into desirable and undesirable category on the basis of their own judgments. However, the views of the society, family members, peer group, and the child were also kept in view. Majority of the parents considered themselves responsible for

children's desirable /undesirable behaviours. The results have been discussed in terms of the impact of social changes on the development of values.

In conclusion, it can be said that the Indian society is passing through a stage of transition While the impact of this transition is visible on certain aspects of behaviour (e.g., value and cost of children), its influence on other aspects is not so obvious. In such areas (e.g., desirable/undesirable human characteristics) the indigenous models still hold good. It is possible that by teaching the traditional system of values to children we are able to minimize the adverse effects of social and technological changes in the future generation

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Appendix I

सामान्य सूचनाएँ

1. माता का नाम : ग्रामीण/शहरी/महानगरीय क्षेत्र
2. माता की उम्र :
3. माता की शिक्षा :
4. माता की जाति :
5. माता का व्यवसाय :
6. विवाह के समय माता की आयु :
7. वर्तमान में माता की वैवाहिक स्थिति : पति/पत्नी साथ रहते हैं / तलाक शुदा/ विधवा
8. पिता का व्यवसाय :
9. पिता की शिक्षा :
10. मासिक आय : माता ..... पिता .....
11. परिवार के मुखिया की शिक्षा :
12. परिवार के मुखिया से बच्चे का संबध :
13. बच्चे का नाम :
14. बच्चे की उम्र :
15. बच्चे की शिक्षा :
16. बच्चे का व्यवसाय :
17. भाई बहिनों की संख्या :
18. बच्चे की भाई बहिनों में क्रमिक स्थिति :
19. परिवार में साथ रहने वाले सदस्यों की संख्या :
    कुल संख्या :
    दादा / दादी, नाना / नानी , चाचा / चाची
    चचेरे भाई / बहिन , अन्य कोई
20. बच्चा अपना अधिकांश समय किस के साथ व्यतीत करता है ?
21. जन्म से लेकर पालन पोषण की मुख्य भूमिका किस की रही ?
22. मकान का विवरण :
    कमरों की संख्या :
    खपरेल /कच्चा / पक्का :
    शहर में मकान की स्थिति :
    अपना मकान / किराये का

Appendix II

संस्कृति - संक्रमण साक्षात्कार अनुसूची

माता का नाम ..... ग्रामीण / शहरी / महानगरीय

(अ) शिक्षा

1. आपने कहा तक शिक्षा प्राप्त की है ?

   5 = स्नातक या अधिक
   4 = हाई स्कूल / इण्टरमीडिएट
   3 = कक्षा 6 -8 तक
   4 = कक्षा 1-5 तक
   1 = अशिक्षित

2. आपके विचार में शिक्षा का जीवन में क्या महत्व है ?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

3. आपके विचार में बच्चों को कितनी शिक्षा दिलानी चाहिए ?

लड़का				लड़की
5	4	3	2	1
स्नातक या अधिक	हाईस्कूल/ इण्टरमीडिएट	कक्षा 6 - 8 तक	कक्षा 1-5 तक	अशिक्षित अशिक्षीत

4. आप अपने बच्चों को किस स्तर की शिक्षा दिलानी चाहेंगी ?

लड़का				लड़की
5	4	3	2	1

5. आप अपने बच्चों को क्या बनाना चाहेंगी ?

   5 = व्यवसायिक
   4 = प्रशासक
   3 = लिपकीय वर्ग
   2 = कुशल कार्य
   1 = अकुशल कार्य
   0 = जो बन जाए

6. आपके परिवार में शिक्षा का स्तर क्या रहा ?

5 4 3 2 1

(ब) व्यवसाय

7. आपका मुख्य व्यवसाय क्या है ?

1= गृहिणी
2 = घरेलू कार्य
3 = कृषि
4 = व्यवसाय
5 = नौकरी
6 = स्वयं द्वारा शुरु किया गया उद्योग

8. व्यवसाय छोड़ने का कारण –

0 = व्यवसाय छोड़ा नहीं है
1= आमदनी कम लगात ज्यादा
2 = मानसिक संतुष्टि प्राप्त न होना
3 = जोखिम उठाने का डर
4 = असफलता
5 = सहयोगियों का अनुमोदन प्राप्त न होना

9. आपके विचार में महिलाओं को किस प्रकार की नौकरी करनी चाहिए ?

1 = नौकरी नहीं करनी चाहिए
2 = घर में करने वाला
3 = परम्परागत कार्य
4 = नौकरी
5 = व्यवसाय

10. क्या आपके परिवार में बेटियों / बहुओं को नौकरी करने की आज्ञा है ?

1 = दोनों को नहीं
2 = केवल बेटी
3 = केवल बहू
4 = दोनों को

11. नौकरी व्यवसाय से आपके घर पर प्रभाव ?

1 = आजीविका की प्राप्ति
2 = अधिक आमदनी
3 = मानसिक संतुष्टि
4 = परिवार में सदस्यों के सामंजस्य
5 = बच्चों का उचित प्रकार से लालन पालन

ग शहरीकरण

12. आप इस गांव / शहर में कब से रह रही हैं ?

5 = जन्म से
4 = दो या अधिक वर्षों से
3 = एक साल से
2 = कुछ महीनों से
1 = कुछ दिनों से

13. आप इससे पूर्व कहां रहती थी ?

0 = इसी स्थान पर
1 = गांव
2 = कस्बा
3 = शहर
4 = महानगर

14. वहा आपके रहने की अवधि क्या थी , अथवा वहा आप कब से रह रही थी ?

0 = लागू नहीं
1 = कुछ दिनों से
2 = कुछ महीनों से
3 = कुछ वर्षों से
4 = बहुत वर्षों से

15. आपके पैत्रिक गांव / शहर से दूसरे शहर में रहने का क्या कारण है ?

0 = लागू नहीं
1 = आजीविका
2 = शादी
3 = प्राकृतिक आपदा
4 = स्थानान्तरण
5 = प्रवजन

16. अब तक आप कितनी बार दूसरे शहर गयी है ?

1 = कभी नहीं
2 = त्योहारों के दौरान
3 = वर्ष / दो वर्ष में एक बार
4 = छः महीनों में एक बार
5 = हर महीने

17. दूसरे शहर में आप कहा जाकर ठहरती है ?

0 = लागू नहीं
1 = रिस्तेदारों के यहां
2 = परिचितों के यहा
3 = धर्मशाला
4 = मन्दिर या आश्रम
5 = होटल

18. आप यात्रा के लिए किस साधन का उपयोग करती है ?

0 = लागू नहीं
1 = पैदल
2 = रिक्शा
3 = घोडा गाडी
4 = बस
5 = ट्रैक्टर
6 = टैम्पो
7 = रेलगाडी
8 = टैक्सी
9 = निजीकार
10 = हवाई जहाज
11 = एक से अधिक साधन

19. आप यात्रा कैसे करती है ?

0 = लागू नहीं
1 = अकेले
2 = परिवार के किसी सदस्य के साथ
3 = रिश्तेदार / परिचितों के साथ
4 = मित्रों के साथ

20. आपके शहर में जाने का उद्देश्य क्या होना है ?

1 = पारिवारिक सदस्यों से मिलने
2 = व्यवसाय
3 = आवश्यकता की वस्तुएँ खरीदने
4 = मनोरंजन / तीर्थ

21. शहर में आप जब जाते हैं तो किस के साथ रहते हैं

(ङ) जन संचार

22. क्या आप रेडियो/टीवी सुनती हैं देखती हैं ?

हाँ - 2 नहीं - 1

23. आप रेडियो / टीवी के प्रति किस प्रकार का विचार या अभिवृत्ति रखती हैं -

0 = लागू नहीं
1 = बच्चों को बिगाड़ता है
2 = मनोरंजन
3 = जागरूकता पैदा करता है
4 = दिन प्रतिदिन की समस्याओं में सहायता करता है
5 = विश्व की जानकारी देता है ।

यदि प्रश्न 22 का उत्तर हा है तो प्रश्न 24 ,25,26 एवं 27 पूछे जायेंगे ।

24. आप कितना ज्यादा रेडियो / टीवी सुनती / देखती हैं -

0	1	2	3	4	5	6

25. आप के ऊपर इन कार्यक्रमों का कितना प्रभाव पड़ता है ।

0	1	2	3	4	5

बिल्कुल नहीं बहुत अधिक

26. आपको रेडियो / टीवी में कौन पसंद है -

0 = लागू नहीं
1 = कोई पसन्द नहीं
2 = रेडियो
3 = टीवी
4 = दोनों
5 = कार्यक्रम के ऊपर निर्भर

27. आप किस प्रकार की कार्यक्रम देखना / सुनना पसद करती है –

0 = लागू नही
1 = घर सम्बन्धी
2 = कृषि सम्बन्धी
3 = कानूनी सलाह
4 = ज्ञान से भरपूर
5 = मनोरजन

* प्रश्न 28 एव 29 केवल शिक्षित महिलाओं के लिए *

28. क्या आप पत्रिकाए पढती है ?

हां / नही

2. कौन सी पत्रिकाए पढती है जैसे –

3. आप को कौन से स्तम्भ अच्छे लगते है –

29. क्या आप समाचार पत्र पढती है ?

हा / नही

घ राजनीतिक भागीदारी –

30. आप राजनीतिक के विषय मे क्या जानती है ?

0 = लागू नही
1 = लोकतत्र
2 = जागरूकता का माध्यम
3 = देश के विकास मे सहायक
4 = देश के चरित्र की पहिचान
5 = भ्रष्ट जोगों का जमाबडा

31. कौन से चुनाओं के समय आप अपने मत का प्रयोग करना पसद करती है –

0 = लागू नही
1 = गॉव के प्रधान के चुनाव मे
2 = विधायकों के चुनाव मे
3 = सांसदों के चुनाव मे
4 = उपयुक्त तीनों मे

32. आप ने अब तक कितनी बार वोट डाला होगा

33. आप किस आधार पर चुनाव में अपने मत का प्रयोग करती है

1 = किसी के बताने पर
2 = जाति
3 = धर्म
4 = दल
5 = कार्य

34. क्या आपके यहा कोई समाज सेवी सस्था कार्यरत है ।
हा / नहीं

35. क्या आप किसी ऐसी सस्था अथवा प्रतिनिधि सस्था की सदस्य है ?
हा / नहीं

छ धर्म

36. क्या आप धर्म मे विश्वास रखती है हा / नहीं

37. आप धर्म मे कितना विश्वास रखती है –

5	4	3	2	1
बिल्कुल नहीं				पूरी तरह

38. अगर किसी दूसरे धर्म के व्यक्ति के हाथ के बना खाना आप को दिया जाए जो क्या आप खा लेगी ।
हा / नहीं

39. किसी दूसरे धर्म के परिवार के साथ क्या आप मेलजोल करना पसद करेगी ?
हा / नहीं

ज भाषा

40 आप की मातृभाषा क्या है ?

41. आपनी मातृभाषा के अतिरिक्त आपको किन भाषाओ का ज्ञान है ?
लिखना पढना बोलना

42. आप साधारण बोलचाल मे किस भाषा का प्रयोग करती है
1. मातृभाषा
2. हिंदी
3. अंग्रेजी 4. आवश्यकतानुसार

ट दैनिक परिचर्या

43. **आपकी वेशभूषा सामान्यतः कैसी रहती है ?**

44. आपकी वेशभूषा में आपके माता-पिता की तुलना में कितना परिवर्तन आया है ।

45. आपको कैसी वेशभूषा पसद है ।
पारम्परिक / आधुनिक / .....

46. क्या आप अलग / संयुक्त परिवार में रहना चाहती थी / चाहेंगी ?
हा / नहीं

47. आपके घर की महिलाएँ सामन्यतः कितनी पढ़ी-लिखी होती है ।

48. क्या आपके यहा परदा किया जाता है । क्या आप इसको ठीक समझती है ?
हा / नहीं

49. पति/पत्नी के बीच अनबन होने पर आपके विचार से उन्हें -

50. क्या स्त्री को ही समझौते के लिए आगे बढना चाहिए -
हां / नहीं

51. क्या आपके विचार में स्त्री वर्ग पुरुष वर्ग से किसी विषय में कम या पीछे है ?
हा / नहीं

52. आप दहेज लेने देने को किस सीमा तक उचित मानती हो ।

53. क्या आप अपने परिवार के किसी सदस्य को दूसरी जाति में विवाह करने की अनुमति देगी ।
हा / नहीं

54. क्या आप या आपके परिवार के सदस्य अपने से नीची जाति के लोगों के साथ बैठकर भोजन पसन्द करेंगे

हां / नहीं

55. क्या आप मानती है कि पुरुष व स्त्री के वर्ग के कार्य अलग-अलग होने –

हां / नहीं

56. आप किस सीमा तक लड़कों के कार्य लड़कियों व लड़कियों के कार्य लड़कों को करने की आज्ञा देती है ?

57. * केवल ग्रामीण महिलाओं के लिए * आपके गांव में कौनसी चिकित्सा सुविधा उपलब्ध है –

58. आपको कितनी सरलता व सुगमता से चिकित्सा सुविधा प्राप्त हो जाती है ।

Appendix III

मूल्य साक्षात्कार अनुसूची

माता का नाम..... ग्रामीण/शहरी/महानगरीय

प्रारंभिक तैयारी : हम आपसे मानव मूल्यों के विकास के संबंध में कुछ बातें करना चाहते हैं । मानव मूल्य से हमारा यहां अर्थ अच्छे एवं बुरे गुणों से है । आपकी बच्चों से क्या आशाएं हैं किस प्रकार के मानवीय मूल्यों का विकास आप अपने बच्चे में करना चाहती है इत्यादि कुछ बातें हम आपसे करना चाहते हैं ।

1. (अ) चूंकि हम बच्चों में मूल्यों के विकास से संबंधित बातें करने जा रहे हैं इसलिए यह आवश्यक होगा कि हम यह जानें कि आप बच्चे क्यों चाहते हैं ?
   दूसरे शब्दों में आपके लिए बच्चा होने से क्या लाभ है ?

2. (ब) किस चीज के होने से लाभ के साथ-साथ हमें कुछ हानियों (नुकसान) भी होते हैं । आपके अपनी लिए बच्चे होने के क्या नुकसान है ।
   (स) अगर (अ) का उत्तर वंश परम्परा को आगे बढ़ाने से संबंधित है तो –
   (1) आपके विचार से लड़के एवं लड़कियों में किसका महत्व ज्यादा है ? लड़का / लड़की
   (2) आपके विचार से लड़का होने के क्या लाभ है ? साथ ही क्या लड़कों से कुछ हानि भी होती है?
   लाभ.....
   हानि .....
   (3) आपके विचार में लड़की होने के क्या लाभ एवं हानियां है ?
   लाभ.....
   हानि .....

4. आपका बच्चा 21 वीं सदी का नागरिक होगा । आप अपने बच्चे में किस प्रकार के मूल्यों / गुणों (अच्छी विशेषताओं) के देखना चाहेंगी । दूसरे शब्दों में आप उसमें किन मानवीय गुणों को विकसित करना चाहेंगी ।

5. किन दुर्गुणों को आप अपने बच्चे में विकसित नहीं होने देना चाहेंगी ?

6. उपर्युक्त गुणों को अपने बच्चे में विकसित करने तथा दुर्गुणों को विकसित न होने देने के लिए आप क्या करती है ? आप अपनी बात का स्पष्टीकरण किसी घटना विशेष का वर्णन करके कर सकती है ?
   .....
   .....

7. क्या अपने बच्चे में इन मूल्यों को विकसित करने में आपको कुछ कठिनाईयों का सामना करना पड़ता है ? यदि हां , कृपया कठिनाईयों का विस्तार से वर्णन कीजिए ?
   .....
   .....
   .....

8. क्या आपके पति एव घर के अन्य बुजुर्ग हमेशा सहमत रहते है ? यदि नहीं, तो कृपया उनके विचारों के बारे में बताइए ?

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9. भारतीय समाज में प्राचानी काल से कुछ मानवीय मूल्य/गुण महत्वपूर्ण माने जाते रहें तथा अभिभावक बच्चों में इन मूल्यों को विकसित करने पर बल देते रहे हैं । जैसे कुछ मूल्य हैं–

- सत्य की हमेशा जीत होती है
- अहिंसा
- ईमानदारी
- सहृदयता एवं परोपकार
- बिना परिणाम की परवाह किए कार्य करना
- सादा जीवन उच्च विचार

बीसवीं सदी के उत्तरार्ध एव इक्कीसवीं सदी के प्रारभ में क्या आप इन मूल्यों को प्रासगिक (उचित) मानती है ? हां नहीं

यदि हाँ , तो उन मूल्यों के नाम बताइए जिन्हें आप उचित समझती है तथा उन मूल्यों को विकसित करने के लिए क्या करती है ?

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यदि नहीं तो क्यों ?

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10. आप किसी व्यवहार को उचित - अनुचित, अच्छे - बुरे की श्रेणी में कैसे रखती है ? कौन से मानदण्ड आपके निर्णय को प्रभावित करते है ?

11. आपके विचार में क्या माता/पिता बच्चों के उचित / अनुचित व्यवहार के लिए उत्तरदायी होते है ? यदि हा तो किस सीमा तक ?
हां / नहीं

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12. (अ) कई बार ऐसा देखा जाता है कि बच्चे माता/पिता द्वारा बनाये गये रास्ते पर नहीं चलते है ? अगर ऐसी स्थिति हो, तो आप किस सीमा तक अपने बच्चों में अवांछित मूल्यों को विकसित होने देंगी ?

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(ब) आपके मत में बच्चे आवांछित / अनुचित मूल्यों को क्यों सीखते है ? इसके लिए कौन उत्तरदायी है ?

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